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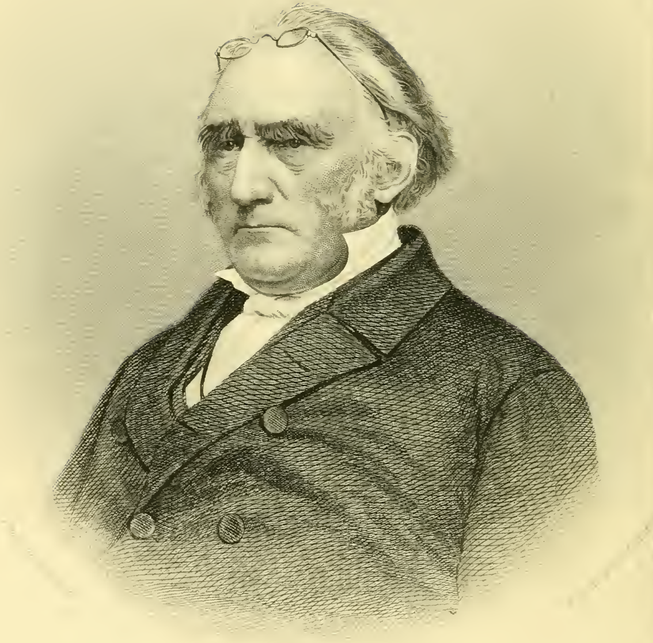

Yours truly
F. Wayland

A MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND LABORS

OF

FRANCIS WAYLAND, D.D., LL.D.,

LATE PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

INCLUDING

SELECTIONS FROM HIS PERSONAL REMINISCENCES
AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BY HIS SONS,

FRANCIS WAYLAND AND H. L. WAYLAND.

VOLUME I.

NEW YORK:
SHELDON AND COMPANY.
1868.

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THIS MEMOIR

Is Respectfully Dedicated

TO THE

PUPILS, PARISHIONERS, AND FRIENDS

OF

FRANCIS WAYLAND,

WHO HAVE SO OFTEN HEARD FROM HIS LIPS THE LESSON
HEREIN CONFIRMED, THAT NOTHING ON EARTH
IS SO DIVINE AS A LIFE DEVOTED TO
THE SERVICE OF GOD AND THE
WELFARE OF MAN.

NOTE

In the preparation of this memoir we have been greatly aided by those whose reminiscences form an interesting feature of the work; by those who have kindly placed letters at our disposal; and by those whose contributions, although not appearing in the words of their authors, contained valuable information, of which we have gladly availed ourselves.

For this assistance, always most cheerfully rendered, and for innumerable manifestations of sympathy and friendliness, we return our grateful acknowledgments.

F. W.
H. L. W.

September 25, 1867.

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LIFE

OF

FRANCIS WAYLAND.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE. — BOYHOOD. — SCHOOLS. — COLLEGE COURSE.

IT is proposed, in the following pages, to present the character and the labors of FRANCIS WAYLAND; to exhibit what he was and what he did. It will not probably be thought that his labors are underrated, if the opinion is expressed that the man was greater than all his works; that the noblest thing which he made was himself. The inquiry into the influences which formed him must, therefore, greatly occupy our attention. Prominent among these influences was the character of his parents and of his early home. These it will be proper to delineate somewhat minutely.

In 1849, shortly after the death of his father, Dr. Wayland, at the request of his sisters, wrote his recollections of his parents and his estimate of their character. These memorials, prepared solely for the family, and with no expectation of any wider publicity, will form our dependence for whatever will be introduced relative to this topic. If apology is needed for the fulness of detail in which he at times indulges, it will be found in the circumstances which gave rise to the papers. They are not the words of one forcing upon the public, narrations in which they have no interest, but of a son and brother reminding his bereaved sisters of the virtues of his and their sainted parents.

Francis Wayland was the son of Francis Wayland and of Sarah Moore Wayland.* Of his more remote ancestors it is perhaps sufficient to say that they were persons in the middle station of life, of Baptist sentiments, and, for the most part, of more than usual piety. While they had no immediate agency in forming his character, we are warranted in believing that their piety and their prayers were among the influences which secured for him the blessings promised to the children's children of the righteous.

> "My father and mother, shortly after their marriage, emigrated to the new world, and on the 20th of September, 1793, arrived in New York, where he immediately commenced business as a currier.
>
> "Previous to the revolution, leather and manufactures of all kinds had been, to a great extent, imported from the mother country. The change in our political relations opened a wide field for enterprise to artisans in every department of labor. Men thoroughly acquainted with the mechanic arts were rare, and the demand for their products was vast and urgent. My father was perfectly master of his business, and his little capital gave him advantages of great importance in that condition of the

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* Francis Wayland (son of Daniel Wayland and Susannah Pritchard), born at Frome, Somersetshire, England, June 15, 1772, died at Saratoga Springs, New York, April 9, 1849; Sarah Moore (daughter of John Moore and Elizabeth Thompson), born at Norwich, England, August 16, 1770, died at Saratoga Springs, December 5, 1836. Married at Norwich, May 20, 1793. The following children grew to adult age, and survived the parents: Francis; Susannah P. (married William L. Stone, of New York), died 1852; Sarah T. (married Thomas P. Cushing, of Boston); Daniel, died 1861; John, died 1863; Anne E.

country. He was also emphatically 'diligent in business,' rising early, always at his work, and remarkably equitable in his dealings. My mother united with him in every effort necessary to insure success, and they soon became prosperous to such an extent as satisfied their ambition."

Both Mr. Wayland and his wife had been members of the Baptist church in Eagle Street, London. After reaching New York, they united with what was then the Fayette Street Church (afterwards the Oliver Street, and now the Madison Avenue Church), then destitute of a pastor, but subsequently under the charge of Rev. John Williams, whose ardent piety and eminent ability they ever held in reverent and affectionate remembrance. Of this church Mr. Wayland was early chosen a deacon, in company with John Caldwell (the father-in-law of the late Rev. Dr. Sharp), John Withington, and William Hewitt.

"The other deacons of the church were, like my father, engaged in active business. At special seasons they visited each other's houses. Their associations, and those of their families, were almost exclusively religious. The only guests I remember to have seen at my father's house were deacons, ministers, and persons eminent for piety. Their conversation was almost entirely on questions of doctrinal or experimental religion. As I look back upon these events (with the recollection, it is true, of boyhood), my father's associates seem to me to have been far better acquainted with the Scriptures and with the doctrines of the gospel, and more thoroughly religious, than we commonly find professing Christians at the present day. Fuller, Gill, Booth, Romaine, Hervey, Toplady, and Newton were much more frequently quoted by them than such writers are by Christians among us. My father's peculiar treasure was a copy of Cann's Bible, with marginal references. This he unceasingly studied, and never relinquished it, until it was actually worn out by daily and almost constant use.

"With these religious discussions, one other topic — that of politics — was sometimes intermingled. My father had felt the oppressions to which dissenters had been exposed in England, and espoused what was considered the 'popular cause' in this country with considerable earnestness. At particular times, I recollect to have heard joyful hopes or fearful forebodings, as one or the other party seemed likely to be in the ascendant. The particular point to which their apprehensions turned was the connection of politics with religion. There was, at this time, if I am not mistaken, a belief that one party, the 'Republican,' was more favorable than the other, the 'Federalist,' to unrestricted freedom in matters of religious opinion.* With the former party, of course, all the Baptists from the older country sympathized In the church to which my father belonged, I have frequently heard it mentioned that there was but one member who was not a Republican; and the wonder among his brethren was, how so good a man could, in so important a matter, err so grievously.

"The arrangements of my father's family were all made subordinate to his religious principles. Morning and evening devotions were as regular as the return of the hours appropriated to those services. So conscientious was he in this respect, that once, while he was engaged in teaching, at a later period of his life, my brother recollects that he called the scholars together at about eleven o'clock, and requested them to keep their seats while he should be absent for a few minutes. He then took my brother home with him, assembled his family together, apologized to them for his sin in forgetting morning prayers, read the Scriptures, and prayed, and then returned to his school-room. This is the only instance in the memory of any of the family in which this duty was ever omitted.

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* The student of those times will recall the fact that the Federalists favored the continuance of a "standing order," and were of opinion that the interests of religion required that provision should be made by law for the maintenance of worship according to the established usage. The opposing party, in some instances, from sincere love of religious freedom, and confidence in the power of Christianity to stand on its own merits, and in other instances from an impartial hatred to all forms of piety, demanded the removal of these distinctions, and the absolute equality of all sects before the law. The most pious of the Baptists of that day found themselves often making common cause, in behalf of religious freedom, with errorists and infidels.

"On the Lord's day, the rule of the family was for all the children to learn a hymn before dinner, and a portion of the Catechism before tea. The former was repeated to my mother; the latter to my father. It was not his custom to attend the evening meeting. After tea, or at candle lighting, we were all assembled in the parlor; my father, or one of the older children, read some suitable passage of Scripture, which he explained and illustrated, frequently directing the conversation so as to make a personal application to some one or other of us. Singing and prayer followed. Occasionally some little refreshment was introduced, and we retired, at an early hour, to bed. This domestic religious service was never interrupted until my father became a preacher, and spent most of his Sabbath evenings in public worship.

"I remember to have heard, in my youth, frequent conversation between my father and his friends respecting an association, that had been established, by several members of the church, for the purpose of improvement in exhortation and in the study of the Scriptures. Of this association I should suppose my father to have been one of the most active members. He looked forward to its meetings with unusual interest, and spent regularly a considerable portion of time in preparing for its exercises. In this manner his attention was gradually turned to the ministry. Soon after, he applied to the church for a license to preach the gospel. I have an indistinct recollection of the deep interest which this step awakened in the minds of both my parents. On the one hand, my father felt sensibly his want of literary preparation. On the other, a conviction rested with increasing weight upon his mind, that it was his duty to make known to his fellowmen the riches of that grace of which he was a partaker.

"As was the excellent custom of those days, he preached several times before the church, and once, I think, before the congregation, that his brethren might judge of his qualifications to become a religious teacher. His request was granted, and he received a license, June 10, 1805, on the same evening with his Christian brother and life-long friend, Daniel Sharp.

"When my father applied for a license to preach, he had no intention of relinquishing his business and becoming the pastor of a church. He intended merely to become a lay preacher. A number of villages were growing up in the vicinity of New York, and he desired to preach the gospel on the Sabbath to such of them as were destitute of religious instruction, while pursuing his regular avocation during the week. This plan he pursued for three or four years. As, however, he became more familiar with the duties of the ministry, his love for them increased. His aid was sought by feeble churches at greater and greater distances from home. His labors were blessed to the conversion of souls. His secular and his religious avocations became more and more incompatible with each other. To carry on active business under the necessity of so frequent absences from home, was clearly impossible. The question arose, whether he should relinquish the preaching of the gospel altogether, or, abandoning all secular business, devote himself exclusively to the ministry.

"This subject occasioned long and anxious deliberation. On the one hand, provision was to be made for a large and increasing family; his business, already lucrative, was extending, and a few years would probably, with the blessing of God, leave him entirely independent. On the other hand, his property, well invested, would yield him about a thousand dollars a year — at that time a much more adequate income than at present; and the use of this would enable him to preach in places where the gospel could not otherwise be sustained. He decided to close his business, and to devote himself exclusively to the ministry."

These somewhat copious extracts have been given, in part because of their intrinsic interest, in part because of the insight they give into the influences which surrounded the subject of this memoir, and because it is more than probable that his later views of the standard of Christian and ministerial labor, self-denial, and piety, were in some degree derived from his early impressions.

Mr. Wayland became pastor of the Baptist church in Poughkeepsie in 1807. The church was feeble, disorganized, and destitute of a house of worship. He labored for four years in this field, most of the time without compensation. During this period a house of worship was erected, many souls were converted, and the foundation was laid for the thriving churches that now occupy that field.

From Poughkeepsie he removed, in 1811, to Albany, and from thence, after a settlement of about a year, to Troy. During his residence in Troy, serious reverses befell him. Most of his property was invested in marine insurance companies, which became bankrupt in consequence of the seizure of American vessels under the Berlin and Milan decrees. To these reverses he opposed the force of patience, industry, frugality, and confidence in God. He eked out his scanty salary by teaching a boys' school; and these efforts, united with the wise and conscientious economy of his noble wife, enabled him not only to maintain his family, and to afford them the education which he justly deemed the best earthly heritage, but to exercise, heartily but unostentatiously, the scriptural grace of hospitality toward his Christian brethren.

In 1819 he became pastor of the church in Saratoga Springs, and in that beautiful village he passed the peaceful evening of his pious life. After ceasing from his pastoral cares in 1823, he spent almost his entire time in preaching, in secret devotion, in religious conversation, and in visiting those who were sick or afflicted, or in need of spiritual counsel.

It is the testimony of his son, and of all who knew him, that he was a man of peculiar industry, integrity, and devotion. As a preacher, he was too little endowed with imagination and passion to be largely popular. He was, however, eminently scriptural, religious, and instructive.

"His forte was not the pulpit, but the chamber of sickness; his public ministrations were less successful than his conversation from house to house. For facility in the introduction of religious subjects, in his visits among his acquaintances of whatever station, and of whatever character, and for faithfulness in pressing them home to personal application, I have never known his superior."

It has been seen that the avocations of Mr. Wayland called him often away from his family. This fact threw the training of the children greatly into the hands of the mother, and the same Providence that laid this duty upon her, had imparted eminent qualifications for its discharge. Her gentleness of temper, her winning manners, her mental activity, and a youthfulness of feeling unsubdued by care, privation, or sickness, gave her peculiar sympathy with the young. In an especial manner was her influence felt by her oldest son. His early maturity rendered him in some degree her companion; and with the reverence due to a parent there was blended the fondness naturally felt for an older sister. He has mentioned, in illustration of her youthfulness of appearance, that once when he was travelling with her, after he had reached twenty years of age, she was supposed to be his wife. Possibly the tender and devoted attention which he then, as ever, paid her, had some effect in causing the erroneous impression.

"Much of my time during my boyhood was spent in the society of my mother. The time between morning and afternoon school hours was occupied with dinner and its attendant avocations. But when I returned home in the afternoon, I always found her with her needle. I used to read to her my books, over and over again, and draw pictures of animals on the slate. I well remember that she spent much of the time in conversation with me, relating to me anecdotes from history, the sufferings and death of martyrs, and the scenes which she recalled of her childhood. Of these latter, I regret to say, that the greater part have passed from my recollection. But there was one class of them, the effect of which upon my mind I cannot forget. There was a spot in Norwich where many Protestants had suffered martyrdom in the reign of Mary, and there were also the remains of an old abbey or monastery, in the dungeons of which many pious persons had been tortured for their profession of faith in Christ. The emotion with which my mother used to relate these atrocities I shall always remember. If I have ever cherished a genuine abhorrence for religious intolerance, the sentiment was first awakened by my mother's conversations. Nor was she merely an enemy of persecution for the sake of religion. I have never known a more enthusiastic or more consistent lover of human liberty. For oppression of every kind she felt a true and noble disdain. I was less than four years old at the death of Washington, and his obsequies in New York is the first event of which I have a distinct recollection. I well remember the deep interest which her account of his character awakened in my bosom. When very young, I felt dissatisfied because my parents had not named me after the Father of my country. I wished even then to have it in my power in some way to do him honor."

She possessed a remarkable faculty of rendering her home at once attractive and elevating.

"The excellent taste of my mother was equally apparent, whatever might be our circumstances. Everything under her control was always neat, in keeping, and in perfect order. Whatever might be the furniture of the room, when you entered it, you would have been convinced that a discriminating and cultivated mind presided over all the arrangements of the household."

"From my earliest recollections she was a very assiduous reader. During the early part of her life this inclination could not be fully gratified, for she subjected her tastes habitually to her convictions of duty. After her health failed, and the labor of her hands became impossible, she read extensively. You might call upon her when you would, and if she was not engrossed in some domestic occupation, she was always engaged in reading. With many of the best works on theology she was well acquainted. But she did not confine herself to these. She read with interest every work that conveyed important knowledge or communicated a quickening impulse to the human faculties. Especially did she delight in tracing the progress of the cause of Christ, the diffusion of knowledge, and the triumphs of freedom in every part of the globe."

A character thus beautiful and benign was perfected and transfigured by the influence of religious principle.

"Her piety was marked by profound humility, a deep conviction of her own unworthiness in the sight of God, proceeding from a clear conception of the holiness of his law, a firm reliance on the merits of Christ for salvation, and an earnest and controlling desire to bring every thought, word, and action into conformity with the precepts of the Savior."

Endowed with such characteristics, it will readily be believed that she engaged the deep affection of her son; and the reader of the following pages will, it is apprehended, find many traces of the influence of her counsels and her example. It would be quite impossible, without copious extracts, to give any adequate idea of the reverent and grateful tenderness which pervaded his correspondence with her, and indeed with both his parents. In speaking of them in 1849, he writes, —

"I think that if their children have attained to any portion of success in the present life, or to a well-grounded hope of future happiness, they will ascribe it in no common degree to the precepts, example, and counsels of their parents. These have been a richer heritage than wealth or worldly honor could bestow; a heritage which I would not exchange for a descent from princes." *

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* One or two circumstances in the life of Mrs. Wayland were sufficiently remarkable to merit recital. No explanation of them is attempted. At the time of their removal to America, it was the design of Mr. Wayland and his wife to return in a few years, and visit the relatives whom they had left behind, especially the mother of Mrs. W. This purpose they often spoke of to each other. But one morning, after they had been some years in this country, she said to him, on waking, "I do not wish to return to England. My mother is dead." No previous intimation of her ill health had

Of these parents Francis Wayland was born, March 11, 1796, in the city of New York, in a house on the corner of Frankfort and Rose Streets.

Our knowledge of this portion of his life is derived mainly from himself. His sons had often entreated him to commit to writing some account of his own life, and he expressed a willingness to do so. It is probable, however, that he did not feel himself at liberty during the years of health, to devote time to preparing what so largely concerned himself and his own acts, and what would not, in his view, interest or instruct any outside of his own family. But after a severe attack of sickness, in the spring of 1860, he commenced a series of reminiscences, which he thus introduces: —

"October 26, 1860. My children have sometimes intimated to me that they would be greatly pleased if I would write some reminiscences of my own life. Until the present time I have never found leisure for such an undertaking. During the past summer I have been obliged to lay aside active literary labor. I have, however, so far improved, that writing is pleasant to me, though I am hardly prepared for accurate thinking. I

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been received. He, unknown to her, made a minute of the time of her declaration; and a subsequent arrival brought the news of the event, which had occurred at about the time at which her mind was thus impressed.

When her son — the subject of this memoir — was expected home from New York, after attending medical lectures there, during the winter of 1814–15, Mrs. W., who was sitting with her husband, suddenly walked the room in great agitation, saying, "Pray for my son; Francis is in danger." So urgent was her request that her husband joined her in prayer for his deliverance from peril. At the expected time he returned. His mother at once asked, "What has taken place?" It appeared, that while coming up the North River, on a sloop, he had fallen overboard, and the sloop had passed over him. He was an athletic swimmer, and readily kept himself afloat till he could be rescued. Was it the unspeakable power of a mother's love that imparted a vision more than natural?

have thought that, by undertaking something of this kind, I might the better prepare myself for severer duties, and also give pleasure to those whom I love. I therefore, this day, have commened this rambling autobiography.

"It will at once be evident that I have nothing of special importance to record, for my life has been singularly free from incident. Yet a plain tale of individual history presents a specimen of human life, from which, almost always, some lesson may be gleaned. It is always interesting to personal friends, and for them alone the following pages are written. Without apologizing for the egotism, I shall write almost exclusively of myself; for this, I know, is what those for whom I write would decidedly prefer."

As has before been stated, the first event within his remembrance was the death of Washington, and the funeral ceremonies in New York. He clearly recalled the childish perplexity with which he saw in the parade a coffin and a bier, and the outward semblance of a funeral, while yet he was informed that the person in whose honor all these ceremonies were held had been buried weeks previously in a remote State. He was, it would seem, even then dissatisfied with witnessing spectacles without trying to understand their meaning.

He also gives the following reminiscences: —

"I heard a conversation about some one being *sued*. My oldest sister was called 'Sue' in the family, and I somehow associated her name with the suing of which I had heard. I asked the meaning of suing, and I remember the answer which spoke of courts, and juries, and constables, all which was perfectly beyond my comprehension. I well recall my childish attempts to understand the nature of civil laws, and of the process which was a subject of discussion; but the whole matter was beyond my powers. I mention this trifling incident because I think it has been of service to me in subsequent life. I have appreciated the difficulty with which children comprehend any complicated subject, especially the social relations of man; and I see what was the fault of my instructors, They told me about judges and courts, while what was meant by these terms was to me entirely unintelligible. Had they laid aside all words pertaining to office, and illustrated the moral nature of the transaction by reference to what might happen in the plays of children, I could have arrived at the general idea. From this incident I have learned to convey a new idea to the young with the greatest simplicity in my power, and not to be satisfied until I see that they are able to comprehend the radical conception without the use of technical terms. There is nothing that a child ought to know, which it cannot be taught, if one will take pains to present the radical idea, and illustrate it by something which is occurring every day in its own experience.

"My father was a man of very fixed ideas of family government, and required of his children implicit obedience. I have no recollection of ever disobeying him deliberately but once. There was a school on the opposite side of the street, taught by a young woman, and it was determined to send me there for instruction. It was, however, a girls' school, and taught by a woman. I resisted to the utmost, and was carried over in arms. It was not that I was opposed to being taught, but I could not consent to be taught by a woman, and in a girls' school. I spent the time in school in loud crying, which was not at all lessened by the threat of the mistress to put me in the oven. After a few trials, the attempt was relinquished, and it was determined to send me to a boys' school. I allude to this incident to mark the difference which fifty years have made in our notions of instruction. At the present day, women are our most esteemed teachers, and they frequently control with ease large schools of the most refractory lads, and sometimes young persons who have almost arrived at majority. I have known them to succeed in the enforcement of discipline where *men*, of their own age, had entirely failed.*

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* It seems proper to place beside the record of his somewhat immature judgment a later utterance, extracted from the Address before the American Institute, in 1854: "By the gradation of our schools, another most important advantage is secured. A vast field is thus opened for the employment of female teachers. At the present moment, women perform a large portion of the teach-

"I early attended a boys' school in the rear of the old Methodist meeting-house, in John Street. The only thing that I remember of this school is, that no distinction was at that time made in respect to color. A few colored children attended the school, and played with the other pupils without exciting remark. I was not aware that any degradation attached to their color; and this, I think, was the general opinion of the period.

"The next school which I attended was taught (if I may apply that term to his labor) by an Englishman, a clergyman, who subsequently attained some celebrity in the city. I am unable to say how far he was a fair specimen of the schoolmaster of that day. His school had considerable reputation. He was of venerable, yet severe aspect, and with a strong sense of personal dignity. He used but one motive to obedience — terror. The ferule and the cowhide were in constant use. He never *taught* us anything; indeed, he seemed to think it below his dignity. I do not remember anything approaching explanation while I was at the school. A sum was set, and the pupil left to himself to find out the method of doing it. If it was wrong, the error was marked, and he must try again. If again it was wrong, he was imprisoned after school, or he was whipped.

"In other studies the text of the book must be repeated without a word of explanation. Geography was studied without a map, by the use of a perfectly dry compendium. I had no idea what was meant by bounding a country, though I daily repeated the boundaries at recitation. I studied English grammar in the same way. I had a good memory, and could repeat the Grammar (Lowth's, I think) throughout. What it was about, I had not the least conception. Once, the schoolmaster was visiting at my father's, and I was called up to show my proficiency

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ing in New England, and they do it so well that this portion is rapidly growing larger. Women have a much greater natural adaptation to the work of instruction than men. We find only occasionally a man possessed of this peculiar endowment, while among women it is almost universal. Much of the improvement in education in New England is, I believe, to be ascribed to the employment of women, in the place of men, in a large number of our schools."

in this branch of learning. I surprised my friends by my ability to begin at the commencement and to proceed as far as was desired; yet it did not convey to me a single idea. Years afterwards, when I began to study Latin, and found the relation of words to each other designated by terminations, and when the matter was explained to me, the whole of my past study came to me like a new revelation. I saw the meaning of what I had formerly, in utter darkness, committed to memory.

"Thus I was doomed to spend several of the most precious years of my life. I do not believe such a school could exist at the present time in any part of this country with which I am acquainted. It could not have been sustained then, but for the fact that the master was a clergyman, well reputed for piety, and supposed to be solemn enough to impress boys with awe. The only pleasure I have in remembering this school is derived from the belief that boys of the present day are not exposed to such miserable instruction. As, on the one hand, no such school would now be tolerated, so, on the other hand, such teaching as is now enjoyed in our public schools could not then have been procured at any ordinary expense, if at all. Perhaps my experience here was not altogether lost. It has at least served to impress me with the importance of doing everything in my power to bring whatever I attempted to teach within the understanding of the learner."

It was to this portion of his youth that the reminiscence belongs, given above, of his spending much of his leisure time in reading by the side of his mother. A surviving sister, Mrs. C., says of the same period, —

"Although he was but two years the senior of the sister next him in age, yet, for some reason, he always seemed much older than the rest of us. When a mere boy, he was the companion of our mother. While we were at play, he would sit by her side and converse with her, freed from all childish reserve. As he grew older, he would talk with her about his studies, and his various discouragements."

When he was in his eleventh year, his father having removed to Poughkeepsie, he entered the Dutchess

County Academy. It was here, under the instruction of Rev. John Lawton (subsequently of Vermont), whom he remembered with respect and gratitude, that he made the discovery lately referred to, of the signification of grammar. Various instructors followed.

"Under one I commenced the study of Greek, with the use of the Westminster Greek Grammar. The text was in Latin, and I was required to understand it, at a time when I could with difficulty construe and parse the simplest narrative sentence in Latin. I learned the declensions and conjugations, but the Grammar was of little further use to me.* With another I attempted to read Virgil, and used to recite perhaps a hundred lines at a lesson, having read it over in the most cursory manner with the aid of Davidson, whose edition was then in use. I presume the teacher could not read it himself, and the only effect of such instruction was to cultivate in me habits of utter carelessness and of entire neglect of study.

"Towards the close of my father's residence in P. some public-spirited gentlemen determined to place the Academy on a respectable footing. They secured the services of Mr. Daniel H. Barnes, a teacher whom I shall ever remember with affection and gratitude. Mr. B. made teaching his profession for life, and he chose it wisely, for this was the avocation for which nature had designed him. A strict yet kind disciplinarian, ready always to render all needful assistance, but teaching the scholar to rely mainly on himself, he possessed in a remarkable degree the power of instilling his own enthusiasm into the mind of the pupil. Under him I first learned to study for the love of it, and to take a pride in accurate knowledge. The study of languages in this country had not then received the abundant aids now enjoyed; but they were taught by Mr. B. according to the best knowledge of the time, and the spirit which he infused into the work could not be excelled.

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* We have never chanced to fall in with the Westminster Greek Grammar named above, nor probably have many of our readers; but the following extract from its pages, which we find quoted by Sydney Smith, will afford a sufficient idea of its contents. It will be remarked that the grammatical rules are expressed in hexameter lines: —

> "ω finis thematis finis utriusque futuri est
> Post liquidam in primo, vel in unoquoque secundo,
> ω circumflexus est. Ante ω finale character
> Explicitus δε primi est implicitusque futuri
> ω itaque in quo δ quasi plexum est solitu in δω."

"The day on which I first came under his instruction is vivid in my memory. I had been reading Virgil at the rate just now described, and I considered myself quite an advanced Latin scholar. Judge of my surprise when he put the class back into Cæsar, and gave us only one section for a lesson. We came to the recitation with the feeling of persons whose attainments were sadly underrated. But the exercise had not proceeded ten minutes before we were painfully undeceived. We supposed that the section given out for the lesson would be easily recited in a few minutes; but the hour had elapsed before we had completed three sentences. Every word was to be analyzed, and declined or conjugated; its number, person, case, or tense determined; the reason for its present form, and the rule by which it assumed that form, given from the Grammar; the geography of Gaul and of the "tres partes" must be stated, and the Latin text not only rendered into correct English, but the whole matter must be comprehended by each student. We went home humbled and mortified at our ignorance, satisfied that we had been imposed upon by our previous masters, and that now, for the first time in our lives, we had met a real instructor. Our estimate of his superiority was unlimited, and we yielded ourselves with enthusiasm to his guidance."

He has related that while attending school in Poughkeepsie, he used, with his schoolmates, to run down to the bank of the Hudson, and gaze, with wonder and awe, on the creation of the genius of Fulton, the "Chancellor Livingston," as she made her way to and from Albany, achieving the passage in two or three days — little less than a miracle to those who had sometimes been as many weeks in making the voyage by sloop.

Among his fellow-pupils was Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, now of New York, who writes as follows: —

"I well remember him as my schoolmate in the excellent Academy in Poughkeepsie, under Mr. Daniel H. Barnes, as principal, afterwards distinguished in this city as a successful teacher in connection with Mr. Griscom. He was a good, solid scholar, serious, orderly, and attentive, rather sedate in manner, but of pleasant temper, and a favorite with his teacher. I cannot now recall him as mingling much in the out-door sports and games, still less in the in-door pranks of the school, which occasionally drew down academic justice on some of us. I distinctly recollect his elocution, as a good, strong speaker, and even the fact that he selected for declamation, several times in succession, an extract from an oration on 'injured Africa.'

"But he remains very clearly in my memory from the circumstance that in or near the year 1811, at a public exhibition of the Academy, while the first Napoleon was at the zenith of his power, he and I were set by our ambitious schoolmaster to dispute the political question, then agitating all classes in America (which would now seem to be slightly beyond the ordinary range of boyish exercises), 'if Bonaparte should conquer England, *can* he conquer America.' My father, a good old Connecticut 'Federalist' of the broadest stamp, then practising law at Poughkeepsie, was of course utterly opposed to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, and their supposed proclivities towards France and its emperor. Of course, also, I took the negative in the dispute. It is my impression that Wayland's family were 'Republicans,' by which denomination the supporters of the Jeffersonian school were then known. At any rate he took the affirmative in the dispute, and maintained it with much force and earnestness. It is among the phenomena of early memories, rendering fugitive words indelible, that I now recollect even the language of one of his statements in that edifying discussion between us striplings, neither of us more than twelve or fourteen years old. 'Canada,' he said, 'stands ready to side at once with the invader. In habits and language they sympathize with France. Their language is already French.' He was not alone in the affirmative. It was the prevailing belief among all our village Republicans. The dread of Napoleon was not dispelled until the disasters of the Russian campaign of 1812, and the final overthrow at Leipsic in 1813, which so filled our village

Federalists with joy, that they not only illuminated their houses, but stigmatized their opponents for refusing to follow their example.

"Meanwhile I had gone to Yale, to learn a little more Federalism from President Dwight, and Wayland, taking an opposite direction, had gone, I think, to Union College. I did not see him again until nearly forty years afterwards, when I knew him as the honored president of Brown University."

We return to the reminiscences: —

"I enjoyed the instruction of this excellent man and remarkable teacher until my parents removed to Albany in 1811. To him I owe much, and I can never remember him but with warm affection. Had I been under the care of such an instructor from childhood, it would have been a blessing, the amount of which I cannot pretend to estimate. He soon raised the Academy to a position of eminence. Many of the leading men of that part of the state were his pupils, and I do not think that there is one of them whose estimate of the late D. H. Barnes would differ essentially from mine.*

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* After teaching in Dutchess County Academy for several years with great success, Mr. B. removed to Cincinnati, subsequently to Schenectady, and thence to the city of New York. In each of these places he established a high reputation as an instructor, and as a man of science. He died a little past forty years of age. "He had accepted an invitation to attend the annual examination of the Rensselaer Institute, at Troy, which was to occur after the close of his term. It was his uniform habit to improve every opportunity to instil into the minds of his pupils useful, moral, intellectual, and practical precepts. And in dismissing his scholars for the summer vacation, he gave them some advice about travelling. Among other things, he spoke of the wisest course to pursue, if, at any time, the horses should run away. He especially cautioned them against jumping out of the carriage in such a case, and advised them to lie down in the bottom of the vehicle. On his way from New York to Troy, he spent a day or two at Canaan, the place of his birth. As he was going from thence to Hudson, to take the steamboat, the horses of the stage ran away, and the driver was thrown from his seat. Mr. Barnes, from some inexplicable impulse, jumped from the carriage, struck his head against

"I ought here to record my sense of obligation to some gentlemen who coöperated with Mr. B. in his efforts. Rev. Cornelius C. Cuyler * had quite lately been settled as pastor of the Dutch Reformed church in P. Thomas J. Oakley (afterwards member of Congress, and subsequently Chief Justice of the Superior Court in New York city) was just rising to eminence in the profession of law. These, with other gentlemen, would frequently spend an hour in the school, attending with great care to the recitations in progress. At the quarterly examinations, they were sure to be present, and acted as judges when we were examined for premiums. The good that was thus done was greater than either of those excellent men realized. We were accustomed to consider them as in the very first class of men within our knowledge. If they took an interest in our studies, we could not but believe that study was honorable. If they condescended to express pleasure at our success, we felt that the highest of earthly honors had been obtained — *laudari a laudato viro.*"

Of the traits which he exhibited at his home, and among his playmates, his sister, Mrs. C., remarks, —

"Our two younger brothers were mischievous boys, inseparable in all their sports, active, restless, unscrupulous, often wantonly destroying our dolls, playthings, and miniature houses. At such times our oldest brother, Francis, would soothe us and vindicate our rights. He was unlike most boys.† I do not remember that he ever marred or

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a stone, and never spoke again. The horses, after running a few miles, stopped at their accustomed watering trough, and no injury resulted to any one save to Mr. Barnes. Had he lived, he would have taken his place among the first educators and the first physicists in America."

* Dr. Cuyler was a distant relative of Rev. Theo. L. Cuyler, D. D., of Brooklyn.

† "While I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set,
Serious, to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, — born to promote all truth,
All righteous things." — *Paradise Regained.*

destroyed any of our playthings. He had no organ of destructiveness, and the right of property was sacred with him. Even then he was an authority in morals, and a staunch vindicator of personal rights. The least approach to oppression aroused him. When he was but a lad, an older school-fellow was annoying and injuring the smaller boys. After expostulating in vain with the aggressor, my brother resorted to physical force to defend the injured. When he had flogged the lad, there was no further annoyance. The corrected youth became, subsequently, eminent in his profession, and a warm friend of his early antagonist. I have heard mother say that this was the only personal encounter of his school days."

We again extract from Dr. Wayland's reminiscences: —

"After I had been under Mr. B.'s tuition for almost eighteen months, my father removed to Albany, and I entered Union College, in May, 1811, being then fifteen years of age. I had expected to enter the third term of the Freshman year; but upon examination I was admitted to the third term of the Sophomore year.

"The entrance to college forms an era in the life of a young person, especially if (as in my case) he then for the first time leaves his father's house, and has the care of himself. I was struck with irrepressible awe as I came into the presence of the professors for the purpose of being examined. They seemed at an unspeakable distance from me. It was with an overwhelming thrill of joy that I received the announcement that I could not only enter, but enter a year in advance of my expectations."

In a letter to his father, of May 17, 1811 (the earliest of his letters known to exist), he writes, "I am very glad that I did not enter the Freshman class, as in the Sophomore I am not deficient in anything but mathematics; this deficiency I hope to make up in vacation."

At his entrance into college, the eminent Dr. Nott was in the seventh year of his presidency. The professors were Rev. Thomas Macauley, D. D., and Rev. T. C. Brownell, D. D., afterwards Bishop of Connecticut.

"Of my college course nothing remains to me but the general impression. The instructors were able, and (for that time) well informed in their various departments. Many of them have attained to eminence in their several professions. But the course was very limited. Chemistry was scarcely born; electricity was a plaything; algebra was studied for six weeks; and geology was named only to be laughed at. I was soon hurried into studies which I could not understand, and in which I had little interest. I was a pretty good reciter of what I understood dimly, or not at all. I studied Kames' Elements, and Stewart on the Mind, and heard the essays of older students on these and kindred topics, with a vague notion that if I were older I could do the same thing, but that at present it was out of the question for me to understand and reason about these subjects as they did.

"The social influences about me were bad. The young men professing piety kept their religion to themselves. Only one of them ever personally addressed me on the subject of religion. This was a pious classmate, Rev. William R. Bogardus, D. D., of the Dutch Reformed church, now, or recently, in the State of New Jersey,* who once called me into his room, and faithfully and affectionately conversed with me in regard to my soul. I have not seen him since we graduated; yet I never think of him without an emotion of gratitude and love that I feel for no other of my college friends. A few of the students were young men of property, who squandered their money in eating and drinking. But the greater part were boys like myself, left to pursue such courses as they chose, restrained by nothing but fear of college discipline. I do not think that there was much gross sin in college at this time, but many habits were forming which would afterwards harden into open vice. Prevarication and lying to officers, playing cards, small pilfering, especially from commons and from the neighborhood of the college, false accounts to parents, and profanity, especially in playing games of chance, all sprang up in profusion. A portion of the students were old enough to understand and wise enough to appreciate the studies we pursued; but these mostly associated with each other, and cared little for those who were uninterested in these pursuits. We studied, if it might be called study, for recitation merely,

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* Since deceased.

> never carrying our thoughts one inch beyond the page on which our eyes rested. Mental discipline or growth, except so far as the latter was the result of increase of years, was out of the question."

The language just quoted would leave the impression that his discharge of the duties of his college course was very imperfect. While, however, it is unquestionable that he appreciated the advantages then within his reach far less than he would have done in later years, yet it is probable that the account which he gives of his early deficiencies is exaggerated. He always underrated his own attainments, and applying to his college course the elevated standard of maturer years and more exalted motives, he was deeply impressed with a sense of early remissness. It is scarcely conceivable, however, that he would have been invited, a few years later, to assume the office of tutor, had he borne the character of a very negligent student.

Hon. B. P. Johnson, of Albany, secretary of the New York State Agricultural Society, writes, —

> "My recollection of him dates back to the time when we met at Schenectady to be examined for admission to Union College. We had a room assigned to us in common, and we continued together for that term. He was fond of athletic sports, and I, too, was much in these exercises, being the son of a farmer and physician, and being obliged to work during the vacations.
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> "He received a medal, and I, next to him, received a testimonial from the president. We had a large class (of about forty-five), and a large portion of the students were older than we. It required effort to secure a place in the ring of honors, but we succeeded. B. B. Wisner, from Geneva, New York, took the second prize, though we believed that he should have had the first.
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> "Wayland was a hard student, and I do not recollect that he was ever called up for violation of college laws. He was on good terms with all, and kindly remembered after we parted in 1813."

The late Rev. Mr. Fonda, of the Dutch Reformed church, who was then a Sophomore, once mentioned that not long before the final dispersion of the class of 1813, on some occasion that brought the class and several other persons together, Wayland said, "Boys, we have never done what we could: we have not known what we can do; let us from this time try to make our mark in the world."

The distance from Schenectady to Troy, his father's residence, is but fifteen or eighteen miles, and he often spent the Sabbath at home. When he failed to do so, a letter was generally addressed to the whole family. His sympathy with his home remained unabated, and afforded, no doubt, one of the safeguards that preserved him from any gross vice. But few letters belonging to this period remain. They are the letters of a lad of fifteen, perhaps somewhat more carefully written than are those of most boys of that age, but exhibiting no peculiar interest in study, nor extraordinary depth of feeling.

From his mother: —

"My dear Son: I, or rather we, were rejoiced to have a letter from you. I was uneasy all the day that you left here. The thought of you broke in upon my sleep also; but the coming of your letter has put another song of praise upon my tongue.

"I thought, when you were at home last, you appeared low. Is anything on your mind? If there is, I beg you will not keep it from your mother.

"Whenever I write to you, my dear boy, I must remind you of your duty to God; it is my constant prayer that you may know him in the day of your youth. Sometimes, as I look round upon my dear children, I think, with the apostle, I could wish myself accursed, so that you might be saved. Think of a dying day frequently. I should be glad if you would write me, and give *me* some account of the state of your mind."

In his reply his feelings and his want of feeling are exhibited with candor, and are delineated with that clearness that always marked his descriptions of his own processes of thought and emotion.

"You request me, dear mother, to give *you* an account of the state of my mind. In so doing, I may gratify your curiosity, but cannot give you any satisfaction. The state of my mind, I fear, is awful; and I know it, but cannot help it. I know that I am a lost, condemned sinner, and I do not know how to help myself. I know that I cannot do it. I know that nothing but the blood of Christ applied to my soul can cleanse me; but how can this blood be applied? When I go to church, I am told to examine myself, and see if I am out of the ark of safety, and if I find that I am, I must pray to the Lord. As to examining, there is no need, for I am convinced that I am undone. I try to pray, but I know that I can do nothing to help myself. I think I can say that God would be just, were he to send me to hell; but I know that he alone can save me. I cannot say that this is the state of my mind all the time; but when I do think on the subject of religion, these are my thoughts. I never met with any person who had been in such a state, except a part of Brainerd's experience, and Mr. Hutton, who spoke on his experience one Sunday evening at our house. In this state of mind I have but two sources of consolation (if consolation it may be called): first, because some who are now Christians were once in such a state of mind; secondly, because God has promised that the seed of Jacob shall not seek him in vain; therefore I think that so many of your prayers must be answered. This is the state of my mind, and I should be glad if you or father (whoever writes first) would tell me what I can do."

He adds in his reminiscences, —

"To what I have said of the college influences, there was one important exception. The recitations of Dr. Nott were of the nature of conversational lectures. After a brief recitation of the text, he occupied the remaining time in animated discussion on subjects connected with the lesson. Sometimes he examined, and either confirmed, refuted, or illustrated the author; sometimes he showed the consequences which flowed from the truth enunciated, and applied it to the various forms of individual, social, and political life. Sometimes he relieved the discussion by appropriate anecdotes. On every suitable occasion he urged upon us a strict adherence to moral principle, and the necessity of religion in order to true success in the life that now is, as well as in that which is to come. His recitations were a pleasure which no student was willing to lose. We then began to think ourselves men, for we had then first found out how to form judgments for ourselves on men and things, and on the events which were transpiring around us. I think I do not exaggerate when I say that attendance upon Dr. Nott's course of instruction formed an era in the life of every one of his pupils. And yet, I must confess that I derived from it but half the advantage it was designed to convey. I was seventeen years old when I graduated. I think my mind did not develop as soon as that of boys generally. I was interested; I followed him with avidity; I loved and reverenced him, but I had not learned to generalize, nor was I, from ignorance of the world, able to apply his principles as I should a few years later."

He was graduated July 28, 1813.

CHAPTER II.

MEDICAL STUDIES. — INTELLECTUAL REGENERATION AND GROWTH. — CONVERSION. — CHANGE OF PROFESSION.

IMMEDIATELY after his graduation he commenced the study of medicine, entering the office of Dr. Moses Hale, then an eminent physician and. surgeon in Troy. About six months later he entered the office of Dr. Eli Burritt.

"He was a man of remarkable logical power, of enthusiastic love for his profession, of great and deserved confidence in his own judgment, and of strong reliance on the power of medicine. I loved and honored him, and I believe he was much attached to me. With him I continued until I was admitted to practice, and for several months afterwards. I was much attached to the study and practice of medicine. I think that I should have had reasonable success had I continued in it."

The winter of 1814–15 he spent in New York, attending medical lectures. He once mentioned that, during this period, he was walking through a street in the lower part of the city, when he observed two persons coming out of a ship-yard, conversing together. His attention was drawn to them alike by their marked appearance, and by the notice which they attracted from the passers-by. One was a tall, dark-complexioned man, in the uniform of the American navy; the other, a slightly-built man, with olive complexion, dark, curling hair, and a quick, nervous manner. They were Commodore Decatur and Robert Fulton, who had been visiting a floating battery that Fulton was constructing for use in the war then waging against Great Britain.

He also during the same winter witnessed a thrilling scene, which he has thus described: —

"It so chanced that at the close of the last war with Great Britain, I was temporarily a resident of the city of New York. The prospects of the nation were shrouded in gloom. We had been, for two or three years, at war with the mightiest nation on earth, and as she had now concluded a peace with the continent of Europe, we were obliged to cope with her single-handed. Our harbors were blockaded, communication coastwise between our ports was cut off, our ships were rotting in every creek and cove where they could find a place of security. Our immense annual products were mouldering in our warehouses. The sources of profitable labor were dried up. Our currency was reduced to irredeemable paper. The extreme portions of our country were becoming hostile to each other, and differences of political opinion were embittering the peace of every household. The credit of the government was exhausted. No one could predict when the contest would terminate, or discover the means by which it could much longer be protracted.

"It happened that on a Sunday afternoon in February, a ship was discovered in the offing, which was supposed to be a cartel, bringing home our commissioners at Ghent, from their unsuccessful mission. The sun had set gloomily before any intelligence from the vessel had reached the city. Expectation became painfully intense, as the hours of darkness drew on. At length a boat reached the wharf, announcing the fact that a treaty of peace had been signed, and was waiting for nothing but the action of our government to become a law. The men on whose ears these words first fell, rushed in breathless haste into the city, to repeat them to their friends, shouting as they ran through the streets, 'Peace! *Peace!* PEACE!' Every one who heard the sound repeated it. From house to house, from street to street, the news spread with electric rapidity. The whole city was in commotion. Men bearing lighted torches were flying to and fro, shouting like madmen, 'Peace! Peace!' When the rapture had partially subsided, one idea occupied every mind. But few men slept that night. In groups they were gathered in the streets, and by the fireside, beguiling the hours of midnight by reminding each other that the agony of war was over, and that a worn out and distracted country, was about to enter again upon its wonted career of prosperity." — *Sermon on the Apostolic Ministry.*

He writes, in the reminiscences, —

"My study of medicine at this time and under so eminent a physician has enabled me to observe the changes which have taken place in the healing art within the period of forty years. Dr. Burritt was an able and experienced physician, standing at the head of his profession in Troy and the neighboring region, and a person of high moral character. Yet his practice would at the present time be considered most barbarous. I observed that he changed much during the time of my acquaintance with him. His confidence in the power of medicine greatly decreased, and he administered less and less. While I was a student with him, he frequently bled at the commencement of autumnal fever, and generally salivated, on the theory, then in vogue, that there could not exist two diseases at the same time in the human system, and that the mercurial disease, if established, would extirpate the other. The number of medicines to be daily and hourly administered was surprising. I almost wonder, looking at the matter from my present point of view, that any of the patients survived. Bleeding was a matter of very frequent occurrence on almost every occasion. Salivation, emetics, and drastic purgatives were much in vogue. The ruling idea seemed to be that, when a physician was called, he was to meet the disease like an enemy, and contend with it *pugnis et calcibus*, *unguibus et rostro*. His weapons were the materia medica, and the body of the patient was the theatre where this contest was carried on. It was a very heroic undertaking on the part of the physician, but a most suffering, not to say perilous condition on the part of the patient. At the present day the same disease would be treated with simple cleanliness, fresh air, and the careful watching of every symptom, to relieve, if possible, any part to which the disease might direct itself. The amount of medicine given has diminished, no one pretends to say how much. Dr. —— (a very eminent authority) prescribes an emetic at the very commencement of the disease; but even in this he is almost alone. Bleeding is nearly abandoned. Recently one of the physicians at the Massachusetts General Hospital directed one of the house physicians to bleed a patient. He replied that he would cheerfully do it, but he had never seen a person bled. He then called upon the other assistant, who made the same reply, and they requested the older physician to perform the operation, that they might learn how to do it. So great have been the changes in practice since I first knew the profession, and all, without doubt, for the benefit of suffering humanity."

In view of the description which he gives of the medical practice of that day, the reader will perhaps be of opinion that he entitled himself to the gratitude of mankind by turning to a different profession, and that he might rightly claim the civic crown, anciently bestowed by Rome on one who had saved the life of his fellow-citizens.

Though he did not enter on the calling for which he had prepared himself, yet the time spent in his medical course was by no means lost. He began to study with more earnestness than heretofore, from the fact that he had a definite idea of the results to be obtained by his efforts. He understood what he needed to know, and why he needed to know it. He gained an acquaintance with physical science, and a fondness for it, which never forsook him, though the character of his subsequent duties gave him but scanty opportunity for keeping up with the progress of this most rapidly advancing branch of knowledge. It cultivated the habit of observation, alike of nature and of mankind, which through life he possessed and used in a higher degree than most persons were aware of.

It also brought him under the intellectual influence and stimulus of persons who were his superiors in age and attainments, but who discerned in him the signs of promise, and favored him with the fullest and most improving intimacy. While he was a student in college, his intercourse with his instructors had been almost entirely official. Personally he had known as little of them as they of him, and he had caught from them no inspiration. It is probable that even the instructions of Dr. Nott did not, at the time of his enjoying them, exert any special influence on his mind. With Dr. Burritt his personal relations were close, and the influence exerted on him was immediate. When the doctor was called away and did not return till night, his pupil would be in waiting at the office to welcome his return; and then they would stir up the fire and sit far into the night, discussing not merely professional topics, but almost every subject, till the mind of the young man became thoroughly aroused. One of his early friends* observes, —

"I was once riding with Dr. Wayland from Andover to Boston, and I asked him some questions about his early life and the sources of his success. He told me, among other things, that when a boy he was often ridiculed by lads older than himself. This discouraged him. When in college an older student criticised one of his compositions very severely and unjustly. Disheartened and disgusted he unwisely resolved to do as little of study and writing as he could and yet keep in his class. Later, after he had entered the office of Dr. B., the latter said to him, 'Now, Wayland, if you will bone down to it, and give your time and strength to your studies, I will make a man of you.' These encouraging words inspired him with a new life. The condition was performed, and the promise was fulfilled."

Dr. Wayland writes, —

"It was during the period of my medical studies that, as I well remember, a remarkable change took place in my intellectual condition. Upon entering college, I had, for the first time in my life, an almost unlimited command of books. I was very desirous of knowledge, and supposed that in order to obtain it, I had nothing to do but simply to read, and therefore I must read as much as possible. I read everything that came within my reach, without much selection, and with less recollection. Gradually, however, I subsided into reading for amusement. I read travels, novels, and works of humor, with untired avidity. My mind seemed capable of taking in nothing but narration. I read Scott's Lady of the Lake for no other purpose than to follow out the story, and, as this seemed simple enough, I derived from it very little pleasure. I read the Spectator very much in the same way, selecting, as I went along, all of the narrative essays and omitting everything else. I used to wonder how persons could take so much pleasure in the didactic essays, and become so much charmed with what they called 'the beauty of the style.' No abstract thought of any kind had for me the least attraction. I remember, with perfect distinctness, the time when I first became conscious of a decided change in my whole intellectual character. I was sitting by a window, in an attic room which I occupied as a sort of study, or reading-place, and by accident I opened a volume of the Spectator — I think it was one of the essays forming Addison's critique on Milton — it was, at any rate, something purely didactic. I commenced reading it, and, to my delight and surprise, I found that I understood and really enjoyed it. I could not account for the change. I read on, and found that the very essays, which I had formerly passed over without caring to read them, were now to me the gems of the whole book, vastly more attractive than the stories and narratives that I had formerly read with so much interest. I knew not how to account for it. I could explain it on no other theory than that a change had taken place in myself. I awoke to the consciousness that I was a *thinking* being, and a citizen, in some sort, of the republic of letters.

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* Rev. Mark Tucker, D. D.

"I began the Spectator, and read it through, omitting, for the most part, from choice, the parts which I had formerly admired. From Addison I turned to Johnson, and read the Rambler with great satisfaction. My chosen book, however, for some time, was the Lives of the Poets, which I read and re-read with delight, transcribing the passages which struck me as worthy of special notice. I found that novel reading unfitted me for study, or any form of improvement, and I abandoned it altogether. I think that, for ten or fifteen years, I never looked into a novel. Indeed my taste for this sort of reading was from that time finally destroyed. For many years past I have not been able to get through a novel. The interest which fiction excites in me is painful. I do not like to read of the horrors of a shipwreck, or of any great disaster, or of intense suffering from any cause whatever. Why I should take pleasure in narratives of fictitious suffering, I cannot discover.

"My reading henceforth was restricted to works of standard excellence. I found out what was meant by beauty of style, and I derived great enjoyment from it. I now looked back on my college course with unfeigned regret. I saw what I had lost, and I deeply regretted that my education had not been delayed until I should have been capable of understanding, of appreciating, and of loving what I studied.

"I believe that many of our American students, whether in the higher schools or in college, suffer as I did. Parents and instructors often err egregiously. All that is sought is to enable the pupil to repeat the words of the text-book, without inquiring whether he is able to comprehend them, or to form from them any conception whatever. The result is, that we see boys, and even children, pursuing studies that can be comprehended only by adults. The time is worse than wasted; for not only is no knowledge acquired, but the habit is formed of reading without understanding — a habit which, once formed, is apt to continue through life.

"Thus, from observation both of myself and of others, I have been led to suppose that there are several changes in the intellectual growth of the person who is blessed with the benefits of education. At first the human mind can think only by the assistance of sensible objects. The infant can be occupied only with something to play with. Its ball, its toys of whatever kind, are the only things it can think about, or which can form its materials for thinking. As it grows older, it can use pictures, or the representatives of its toys, or of the things which it sees. Hence the intense love of children for picture-books, and the necessity for using them, or something like them, in the education of children. As the mind advances, it can form pictures for itself by the aid of the imagination. This is the era of narrative. Travels, stories, novels, are read with avidity. It is not until the mind is fully expanded, that we can think without an image, either visible or conceived, that is, can use abstract thought in thinking. Until this period has arrived, abstract study is of no possible advantage, but is rather an injury.

"I am aware that this period arrives at varying ages with different individuals. I suppose that my mind was slow in developing. I have known or heard of persons who said that they read eagerly Stewart on the Mind when mere children. I can pretend to no such precocity. I was in my eighteenth or nineteenth year when I was conscious that the change to which I refer had taken place in myself. I suppose, moreover, that the full development depends very much on education. Savages remain children through life, and can think only of what is addressed to the senses. And of men at large, there are very few who have any considerable power of abstract thought. Hence the folly of presenting abstract ideas to a mixed congregation, in which only one in a hundred is capable of following the speaker. Thus did not Jesus Christ."

The impression naturally made by the passages just quoted, that his mind arrived late at maturity, must be taken with considerable qualification. It has before been remarked that his tendency was to underrate himself. It was indeed a failing that leaned to virtue's side, preserving him from vanity and from a fatal reliance on the power of genius unaided by labor. His maxim, not unfrequently uttered, was, "I always think that I can do what other men have done by taking two or three times the pains they have taken." But as a matter of history, those who remember him in youth, as well as those who have heard older persons express the opinion which they early formed of him, vary widely in their testimony from his language. One who knew him perhaps two years later,* writes, —

"His bright intellect and his strong traits of character interested us very much from the first, and we regarded him as destined to exert a permanent influence upon minds. We remarked especially his high mental standard, his good sense, his wit, his originality, and the almost crystal clearness of his perceptions."

The positions which he filled in very early manhood (often presiding over and instructing those much his seniors), as well as his early works, will probably have more weight than his statements given above. Perhaps we should present the matter correctly by saying that though his mind exhibited no traces whatever of early precocity, yet when it began at last to develop, it reached almost at once the vigor and the proportions of intellectual manhood. The following letter, written when he was eighteen, to a sister two years younger, certainly gives no indication of a want of maturity. It may indeed be questioned whether it does not almost painfully impress us as the production of one on whom manhood had come too early. We could wish that there were more of boyishness in it even at the expense of something less of wisdom. The letter is also interesting from the evident proof it gives of his strenuous efforts after self-improvement. In parts it differs but little from an essay, under an epistolary disguise.

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* Mrs. Dr. Cornelius.

"New York, November 28, 1814.

". . . As I know of nothing new, I will fill my letter with something old; and at this time I will make a few observations on the acquisition of knowledge. The acquisition of knowledge is truly the acquisition of power or influence. People of every description give involuntarily the tribute of reverence to those who are better informed than themselves. But to you, who know the value of information and the superior standing which learning gives, it is needless to argue this point. The question is, How is this knowledge to be obtained? This may, indeed, appear to be a question, but in truth there is no question about it. You and I, and every one else, can obtain knowledge enough to entitle us to respect, if not preëminence, if we only ardently desire it. Books are not wanting. History, chemistry, moral and philosophical essays, you can procure as often as you desire to read. But you complain of want of time. Think of the old adage, 'Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves.' Believe me, my sister, this is emphatically true respecting time. If all the quarters of an hour were occupied, which you and I spend in looking at our fingers, or in waiting for this thing or that, time would not be wanting: we should not complain of there not being time to read. Now, do think of this, and spend some time, be it ever so small, in interesting or instructive reading. That you have time enough to read I am convinced, from the fact that you once in a while find time to read a novel. Let this little time be spent in instructive reading: do not care so much to read a good deal, as to read well and thoroughly. But this is not enough: not only read, but write: memory is at best treacherous. You can remember but very few particulars (and these very imperfectly) by simply reading. You must also write down, in a book kept on purpose, every striking sentiment, elegant expression, or instructive anecdote. They will by degrees associate themselves in your mind, and tincture your conversation. You would, of course, frequently read over these notes, and every reading will imprint them strongly in your memory. If you want to relate an appropriate anecdote, you will not then, as is often the case with people, stammer through half of it, forgetting the dates, &c., and then break off with saying, 'I have forgotten the rest.' You will become well informed in a short time. This is the way Rush, Clinton, and many others have amassed knowledge that has astonished the world. The moment after Dr. Rush had been in conversation with a friend, he retired to his closet and wrote down every idea which was new or interesting. Do not think I want you to be a pedant. I do not expect you to become a Johnson in conversation. Small talk is necessary: every one who lives in the world must use it, and you must also. But let your small talk be in elegant or appropriate and expressive language; and the means I have advised will produce this effect. Another means of acquiring knowledge is conversation; and to this end, as I told you before, associate with those superior to you in age and reading. I am confident, from your standing in society, that you can associate with persons of learning. Associate with them and profit by it. You can easily find some friend who will read with you, and converse over your history, essays, &c. Improve in knowledge. Do not be afraid of a sneer. A sneer proves nothing; and I am well convinced that when your sex laugh at a girl of reading, it is mostly because they envy her. Write soon, and write a more correct and better letter than this. I would write this over, and very much alter the phraseology, but I must go to lecture immediately. However, you have read the Elements of Composition. and it perhaps would be an instructive exercise to criticise all the bad sentiments and incorrect sentences, and send me your critique on it."

It was during the period of his medical studies in Troy that Mr. Wayland formed the acquaintance of two persons, whose influence he regarded as invaluable. The young man is happy, who, in the hour of his mental regeneration, finds friends, that by their intelligent and congenial sympathy nourish into energy the feeble pulsations of his newly-awakened intellectual life. Many a man of subsequent eminence can recall the acquaintance of some one more advanced in years than himself, sometimes of his own, but oftener of the other sex, from whom he feels that he learned, at that particular period, more than books had or could have taught him, or rather, perhaps, who gave to his books and to his past acquirements a meaning and a value that they never had before. If we do not mistake, the person from whom this intellectual stimulus is derived is generally found outside the limits of one's own family circle, perhaps because his mind moves more freely when he is not in the presence of the parents whom he traditionally regards as immeasurably above him; perhaps because strangers are more likely to treat his opinions with respect, and to encourage their utterance, than are those who have heard his childish lispings, and hence can scarcely believe that sentiments of any great value can proceed from the lips which they associate with the babblings of infancy and the petulance of boyhood. He writes, —

"I have spoken of the change which took place in my character as I passed from boyhood to manhood. I began at once to form opinions for myself, to judge of things from my own point of view, to read works of literature with a pure appreciation of their beauty, and to become deeply interested in general views of human nature, and the biases and tendencies of humanity. The world immaterial seemed to be unveiled to me, and I began to see it with other eyes and to hear it with other ears. It was at this time that I became acquainted with Dr. William Stoddard and his wife, Mrs. Lavinia Stoddard. The former was a graduate of Yale College, who had studied medicine, and was a well-read and able physician. He had not, however, practised his profession, but had pursued a literary life, and had devoted himself to teaching, in which he, with his wife, was engaged when I knew them. He was a good linguist, and a highly educated man, of unusual conversational power — a man whom you could not fall in with by accident anywhere without perceiving that he was a person of decided talent. Mrs. Stoddard was one of the most remarkable women I have ever known. Her face was not handsome, and derived its interest alone from the workings of the soul within. Her figure was small, and not remarkable for symmetry. She possessed an intellect, however, capable of any amount of acquisition, and able to master with ease any conception. With these endowments were united a power of expression and an ability to do anything which she determined to accomplish. A shrewd judge of character; forming her opinions for herself, and bold in the expression of them; seeing at a glance through all shams, and loving sincerely whatever was true and good, — she was withal a perfect woman. All was delicate and refined, while all was pure, true, and lovable. Coleridge somewhere remarks that in every really great man there are to be seen some of the feminine elements. I think that the converse is true. In the most remarkable women there are always to be found some elements of the sterner sex. In order to render the intercourse of social life perfect, both parties must have something in common. The woman cannot confide in the man unless he can sympathize in her tenderness, nor can the man counsel with the woman unless she can, in some measure at least, look upon the actual world as he looks at it, or can partake of his views as to the mode of accomplishing an object. Mrs. Stoddard had all that was masculine in intellect without hardness, and all that was tender and humane without a trace of feebleness or sentimentalism.

"Having by some means, I know not how, become acquainted with them, I admired their characters, and was deeply impressed with their powers of conversation. I was surprised to see that they took an interest in me. To be admitted into the intimate society of two such persons formed an era in my life. I began to think that there was some latent power in myself, if such persons treated me as a junior equal, and thought my opinions worthy of discussion, and even of respect. With Dr. S. I discussed medicine, the classics, and whatever in my daily studies seemed of interest; and with both of them I conversed on literature, biography, and all that was then rising into importance before my mental vision. Such an intimacy was worth all the rest of Troy to me, and I so esteemed it. I now look back upon it as one of the most fortunate incidents of my life. I do not know but it was worth more to me than all I had received from my college education. As my mind was emerging from the dim and obscure notions of boyhood, to be introduced to two such persons, of mature age and high intellectual accomplishment, by whom every growing intellectual impulse would be not only stimulated, but, what was of more consequence, rightly directed, was of inestimable value." *

The intellectual regeneration by which he passed from boyhood to maturity had taken place. But a change was at hand, more profound and divine. He writes, —

"In due time I received my license to practise medicine, and was considered, I believe, a promising candidate for professional success. I must now take my position in life. Thus far I had no decided religious impressions; that is, no impressions which resulted in any moral change. My parents took pains to instruct their children in the doctrines of the New Testament, and also to im-

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* Dr. Stoddard, with his wife, subsequently removed, on account of her feeble health, to the (then) Territory of Alabama, and there died. Mrs. S. did not long survive him. Dr. Wayland adds to his account of these, his early and valued friends, "If any of my children should ever meet any of their descendants, I beg them to remember their parents' kindness to me."

press these truths on their consciences. Educated in this manner, I of course had a general knowledge of the truths of the gospel. I think, however, that the effect of this teaching was to some extent diminished by the views which my father then held. He was a very rigid Calvinist. The views which he then inculcated were, as it now seems to me, one-sided; and he greatly changed them as he advanced in life, and read the works of Andrew Fuller. In speaking of his views as one-sided, I mean that he dwelt too exclusively on election, and the sovereignty of God, and not enough on the responsibility of man, and the fulness of the gospel. The impression not unfrequently left on one's mind was, that man had only to wait God's time, and had nothing to do until he was born of the Spirit. Such, I think, was the practical effect on my own mind; nor did I completely escape from it, until I had been myself for some years a preacher of the gospel.

"I believed the truths of religion, for aught I know, as fully as I do now. But my heart was unmoved. I had some wish to be a Christian, but I had no true idea of faith or repentance; and all the theological illustrations which I heard seemed to involve the subject in deeper darkness. At times, when my purposes were crossed, my spirit, as I well remember, rose against the government of God. I knew that had there been any universe to which I could have fled, where God did not reign, I would at once have gone thither. But feeling my helplessness, I sank back into forgetfulness. When I reflected at all upon religion, I was miserable. But reading, conversation, and the pleasures of youth generally drove these thoughts out of my mind.

"At times the Spirit of God strove powerfully with me. I saw my danger; I knew that there was but a step between me and death, and that after death was the judgment. Dreadful as were these emotions, I am not aware that I ever sought to repel them, but rather to retain and even to increase them, hoping that thus I might be led to that change of heart which I knew to be essential. But in spite of me, they would go away, as they came, independently of my volition, leaving me in a few days as indifferent as before.

"I do not remember any sermon that did me any good. The preaching, then as now, seemed to me to be too theological, devoted to explaining some doctrine of the gospel according to a particular system, with but little of that warm interest in man's salvation that appears suitable in the herald of a free and finished redemption. Occasionally I heard a plain man who poured out his soul in earnest for the salvation of men, and who affected me deeply; but in general the preaching left me as it found me.

"In this state of mind I continued until the close of my medical studies. It was now necessary that I should fix upon a place for my future residence, and enter on my course of life as a permanent arrangement. I had always had a decided impression that I should be a preacher of the gospel, and had frequently felt that my medical studies were only an incident in my life. After thinking frequently upon these things, it occurred to me that all my life had been spent in studies and labors which had no connection with my eternal destiny. The life to come had been practically ignored. I believed all that the Bible said of my condition and my danger. Jesus Christ came to save sinners; yet I had never sought his forgiveness, nor had I ever made a single honest effort for the salvation of my soul. I had never for a single day in my life laid aside all other business, and earnestly sought of God the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit. This seemed to me most unreasonable, and I could not but think that if I were forever lost, the recollection of it would add increased bitterness to a ruined eternity. I resolved that, dismissing every other thought, I would devote one day to reading the Scriptures and prayer, that I might be able to say that I had at least done something for the salvation of my soul. I at once put my resolution into practice. I retired to my chamber, and spent a day in this way. I perceived very little change in my feelings, save that a sense of the importance of the matter had so grown upon me that I resolved to spend the next day in the same manner. At the end of the second day, I determined to spend still a third day in the same employment; and at the expiration of that day, I determined that I would do nothing else until I had secured the salvation of my soul. How long time I remained in this condition I do not now remember. I was embarassed by ignorance of the plan of salvation—an ignorance all the more embarrassing because I supposed it to be knowledge. I had marked out for myself a plan of conversion in accordance with the prevailing theological notions. First I must have agonizing convictions; then deep and overwhelming repentance; then a view of Christ as my Savior, which should fill me with transport; and from all this would proceed a new and holy life. Until this was done, I could perform no work pleasing to God, and all that I could do was abomination in his sight. For these emotions, therefore, I prayed, but received nothing in answer which corresponded to my theory of conversion. I devoted I know not how much time to prayer and reading the Scriptures, to the exclusion of every other pursuit. This, however, could not be continued always. I recommenced my usual duties, making this, however, my paramount concern. I attended religious meetings, and derived pleasure from them. I read only religious books. I determined that, if I perished, I would perish seeking the forgiveness of God, and an interest in the Savior.

"At the time when I first resolved thus to seek in earnest the salvation of my soul, there was in none of the churches in Troy any religious interest. It was a period of unusual indifference to religion. But while I was in this condition, a very extensive revival commenced. I was deeply interested in it, and attended all the meetings, hoping to hear something which would tend to my spiritual good. I found that I loved the doctrines of the gospel, that I earnestly desired the salvation of souls, and felt a love for Christians such as I never felt before. But I could not believe that the light which had gradually dawned upon my soul was anything more than what was taught by the precepts of men. Everything in religion seemed to me so reasonable, that all which I felt seemed to arise from the mere logical deductions of the intellect, in which the heart, the inmost soul, had no part. I met with the young converts, and with them engaged in devotion, but could not believe that the promises of the gospel were intended for me.

"I remember at this time to have had a long and interesting conversation with Rev. Mr. Mattison, a Baptist minister from Shaftsbury, Vermont. It was of the nature of an earnest argument, in which he endeavored to prove that I was a regenerate person, and I as strenuously contended that it was quite out of the question. I could not deny that there had been a change in me; but the change had been so reasonable and so slight in degree, that I could not be a child of God. Yet the conversation did me good. In looking back upon this period of my life, I perceive that much of my doubt and distrust was owing to the pride of my own heart. I had formed my own theory of conversion, and I did not like to confess that I was wrong. I wished to have a *clear* and *convincing* experience, so that I might never doubt of myself, nor others doubt concerning me. I desired to be the subject of a striking conversion, and was not willing to take with humility and gratitude whatever it should please God to give me. He in mercy disappointed me, and made me willing to accept his grace in any manner that he chose to bestow it.

"Whenever I now have occasion (as I often do) to converse with persons in this state of mind, I do not argue much with them. I set before them the love of God in Christ, the fulness and freeness of the offer of salvation, and the sincerity of God in revealing it to us, and I urge them at once to submit themselves to God; not merely *to be willing* to do this, but to *do it*. If they will do this, I know that God will accept them, and that the evidence that he has done so will soon be manifest. I also urge them without delay to begin at once to serve God, to do what they know will please him, to do good to others, to make sacrifices for Christ, to ask, with Paul, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' and at once to do it. Only a few days since, a young lady, in this very state of mind, called to converse with me on the subject of religion. The Spirit of God had evidently been granted to her. Yet one of the first things she said to me was, 'O, I am sure I am not a Christian.' She had been arguing the question with herself, and was ready to do so again, instead of turning her whole heart immediately to God.

"About this time (1816) Rev. Luther Rice visited Troy, to awaken an interest in the subject of missions.*

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* It is not necessary to remind those readers who are acquainted with the history of American Baptist missions, that Luther Rice

He staid with my father, and preached several times in the Baptist church. The work of missions and the scheme of subjecting the world to Christ, presented by one who had just returned from a heathen land, had all the effect of novelty. To me the subject had an intensity of interest which has never left me to the present moment. Mr. Rice was a man of decided ability, and a solemn and effective preacher. But in addition to this, he was a man who had given up all for Christ, burning with zeal to preach his gospel to the heathen, and appearing among us for the sole purpose of collecting means to carry on and extend this work. He was the only American who had gone out into the darkness of paganism and had returned to tell us what existed there. I remember well the effect produced on me by a sermon which he preached from the text, 'The glorious gospel of the blessed God.' For the first time in my life, I was constrained to believe that the sentiments of my heart were in harmony with the gospel; that I loved God and all that God loved; and that it would be a pleasure to me to devote all my life to his service.

"An incident occurred which afforded practical confirmation of these sentiments. I had an opportunity to earn something by medical labor in a small village south of Troy. It cost me many a mile of walking in the heat of summer. I was delighted to give all the avails to the missionary cause. Indeed, I do not know that I ever derived so much pleasure before or since from the expenditure of money. I felt it to be an undeserved honor that

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was associated with Dr. Judson in his early aspirations and labors. He was one of the little band of students in Williams College who in 1808 consecrated themselves to the work of missions. He was ordained, in company with Judson, Newell, Nott, and Hall, at Salem, February 6, 1812, and sailed for India on the 18th. Having changed his sentiments on the subject of baptism, Mr. Rice was baptized a few weeks after Dr. and Mrs. J., and became connected with the Baptist Convention in America. He shortly after returned to this country for the purpose of awakening a missionary spirit among American Baptists, intending, as soon as this object was in some degree accomplished, to resume his labors among the heathen. Although he was not permitted to carry out this purpose, his labors in behalf of the cause in which he was interested, were invaluable.

I was permitted by my labor to aid in any degree the salvation of men."

His sympathies, however, were not expended upon the distant heathen to the neglect of souls near at hand. One who had known him from his boyhood (Mrs. Thompson, of Poughkeepsie) writes, —

"I had a married sister living in Troy, and a younger sister (Rachel) was attending Mrs. Willard's school. When Francis was converted, his first visit was to talk with Rachel; and it was the commencement of a new life with her. She died a few years after, one of the most heavenly minded saints I ever saw. If he had no other precious soul to reward his labors, this alone would be a rich harvest."

Dr. Wayland continues in his reminiscences, —

"Thus gradually I attained a hope that I had passed from death unto life. My pride was humbled, and I was willing to receive any light that God saw fit to give me, and in any manner that he thought best. I observed a change in my character. My mind at one time rebelled against the doctrine of election. It seemed to me like partiality. I now perceived that I had no claim whatever on God, but that if I were lost, it was altogether my own fault, and that if I were saved, it must be purely a deed of unmerited grace. I saw that this very doctrine was my only hope of salvation, for if God had not sought me, I never should have sought him. I had been ambitious of distinction among men, and had been looking for nothing beyond the grave. Now, worldly honors seemed to me trivial, and I desired to serve God. I thought this the highest honor. The cause of religion appeared dear beyond everything else, and I rejoiced in whatever told of its progress. I loved the image of Christ wherever I saw it, whether among the poor and the ignorant, or the rich and the refined. When a Sabbath school was organized in Troy, I at once offered myself as a teacher, and selected for myself out of all the school a class of colored boys, because I thought that they most needed instruction, and because this seemed to me to be following out most closely the example of Christ. Observing all these changes in my feelings and choices, I could not but believe that God had bestowed upon me some of the marks of his children.

"It will be seen, from what I have said, that there appeared to be a want of salient points in my religious history. Everything was gradual, and seemed to have proceeded in the line of logical deduction. The precise time when a moral change took place in my character I cannot determine. I have had many seasons of religious declension and revival; I have been harassed with many doubts of my state before God, and have rarely attained to that full assurance of faith which is the privilege of so many of the disciples of Christ. I have labored and prayed for it. If I know my own heart, I do really with pleasure submit myself and all that I have to God; and yet I ever feel the want of the fervent love and adoring gratitude which I know is promised to the children of God, and which is the earnest of their inheritance. Yet I think that I can perceive in myself some evidences of spiritual growth.

"Perhaps, however, this state of mind, and these somewhat peculiar exercises, may have been of use to others. If this has been the case, I am willing to bear the pain so long as it shall please God to call me to endure it. I have sometimes thought that I was able the more readily to sympathize with, to relieve, and to lead to Christ, those whose feelings were similar to my own, the number of whom is far from inconsiderable. I think also that I have been led to observe more readily the distinctive elements of the Christian character, and to separate them from those which are merely accidental. Of one thing, however, I am certain. I used to think that from one's exercises at conversion, it was possible to determine, without doubt, the reality of a work of grace. I have learned that this is perfectly illusory. I have known several persons, whose exercises seemed of the most marked and satisfactory character, yet who soon fell into open sin, and died the avowed enemies of God and of all goodness. I see the necessity of cultivating with assiduous care the first dawnings of religious feeling, and of insisting strongly on practical obedience to God, ever remembering that this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."

Feeling that it was his duty to profess his faith in Christ, he was baptized and received into the fellowship of the Baptist church.

"I was much attached to the profession of medicine, for which I had been prepared, and on the practice of which I had in some degree entered. But as soon as I felt a comfortable assurance of my personal piety, I felt that my destiny was changed. The preaching of the gospel seemed the duty to which I was to devote my life. In coming to this decision, I had none of the trials to which many persons are subjected. All my previous reflections, with the education I had received at home, and the example of my father, had prepared me for it. I was ready at once to surrender my medical prospects, and to devote myself to the gospel of regeneration. But I also felt, that even had my inclinations led me otherwise, I could not but give myself up to the ministry, without sinning against God. It mattered not what I should substitute in the place of it; I could not ask the blessing of God on anything else. I felt assured that God would overturn all my plans, and leave me to myself and to the fruits of my devices, unless I obeyed him in this thing. I was thus shut up to one course, and only one. I dared not disobey God, nor could I enter upon any occupation on which I could not ask his blessing. My duty seemed plain, and the providence of God opened the way which I was to pursue."

His change of moral purpose, and surrender of his heart to God, had been the cause of great thankfulness to both his parents, who saw the answer to many hours of tearful supplication. And although his worldly prospects in the profession for which he was prepared were most flattering, yet they gladly saw him abandon them at the impulse of duty and of gratitude to God. The surrender of worldly interests was the more considerable from the fact that at this time the circumstances of his father had become very much straitened, alike by the financial losses before alluded to, and by his withdrawal from the pastoral charge of the Baptist church in Troy.

It was not without great effort and economy that he could provide for the large family which remained at home; and it was quite impossible for him to afford much aid to his oldest son in his further studies.

> "But how was I to enter upon the work of the ministry? I had no practice as a public speaker; I was but very imperfectly acquainted with the Scriptures. How should I be prepared for this great undertaking?"

The opportunities for theological study at that time were very limited. No seminary had been established by the Baptist denomination. Rev. Dr. Chaplin, subsequently president of Waterville College, a clergyman eminent for piety and for sound judgment, was giving instruction to some candidates for the ministry, at his residence in Danvers, Massachusetts, as was also the eloquent Dr. Stoughton, at Philadelphia. But Dr. Burritt, and many friends of the family in Troy, urged the advantages of the Seminary at Andover, then just entering on the ninth year of its usefulness; while others suggested the Seminary at Princeton, which had been established four years previously.

While the matter was under advisement in the family councils, Rev. Elias Cornelius visited Troy, for the purpose of awakening an interest in foreign missions. With this faithful minister of Christ, afterwards widely known as Secretary of the American Education Society and of the American Board of Commissioners, Mr. Wayland became acquainted. Upon learning his state of mind, Mr. C. strongly advised him at once to repair to Andover. He assured him that his Baptist sentiments would be respected, and that he would be welcomed to every advantage which the Seminary and its eminent professors could offer. Mr. C. also, on behalf of his own personal friends at Andover, promised to him whatever advice, aid, and sympathy would naturally be desired by a stranger. For these timely words, and for the manner in which these pledges were more than fulfilled, Mr. Wayland never ceased to feel a deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Cornelius. Accepting these kind and providential offers, "I closed," he says, "my little affairs at Troy, and set out for Andover in the autumn of 1816."

Hitherto he had been absent from his father's house only for short journeys, and in expectation of a speedy return. He now left it to go among entire strangers, to a place distant about four days' travel — left it never again to be permanently a member of the household. The scanty facilities for travel and for communication by letter rendered the separation more complete than now takes place when a son removes from New England to Colorado. One of his sisters writes, "Andover seemed a great way off. He took the stage from Troy at one o'clock in the morning. Our parents, and all of the children, even the youngest, were up to say 'good by.' Father's blessing, and mother's emotion, too strong for utterance, and our tears, and his kind farewells, and promises to write to us often — all these are vivid before me. The shutting of the coach door resounds now in my ears; and I remember our departure to our rooms, and our restless tossings and weary hours till morning, and the vacant seat at breakfast, and the sense of loneliness which our mother's forced cheerfulness could scarcely enable us to overcome."

CHAPTER III.

ANDOVER. — MOSES STUART. — MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL GROWTH. — CORRESPONDENCE.

THE traveller of to-day breakfasts in Troy, and sees the sun set behind the hills of Andover, a thriving town of nearly four thousand inhabitants. What the journey was fifty years ago, is indicated in the following letter to his parents, dated Andover, November 8, 1816: —

"Through the kind mercy of an indulgent Providence, I arrived here yesterday at about two o'clock P. M. On Saturday morning (having left Troy at one) I left Albany at two o'clock, and at seven P. M. arrived at West Springfield. On the Sabbath I went to hear Dr. Lathrop, but found in his place a young licentiate, a very indifferent preacher. Sabbath afternoon I spent in East Springfield, about two miles south of the former, and across the Connecticut River. The stages had altered the time to begin their winter route, and in consequence I was obliged to ride to Brookfield on Monday, in a one-horse wagon, and remain there for the night. On Tuesday morning I again took the stage, and arrived in Boston at about seven in the evening of as dreary and rainy a day as you have ever seen. I soon found out Mr. Winchell's; it was near the stage-house. The family received me with hospitality. I staid with them till I left Boston. I took breakfast at Mr. Sharp's yesterday morning. He treated me with much friendship, as did Dr. Baldwin. They all appear well pleased at my coming to Andover. Mr. Paul, you may have heard, has arrived from Europe.*

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* Rev. Thomas Paul (a colored man) was a Baptist minister, much respected in Boston. At the time alluded to, he had just returned from England, where he had been to take possession of some

I took dinner at his house, with several gentlemen, the day before I left Boston. It was the most sumptuous entertainment that I ever partook of.

"I rode up here in the stage with Professor Stuart. As soon as I reached the stage-house a message arrived from Dr. Woods, that if any gentlemen wished to enter, they were desired to come to his house. I accordingly went, and presented my recommendatory letters. He read them, examined me on a sentence of Greek and Latin, and in a few words on my religious exercises, and said that he should have no hesitation in entering me. I accordingly became a member of the institution in less than half an hour from my arrival in town. The professors are employed in examinations, and have not yet commenced lecturing. They probably commence to-morrow. I have procured a room, and am within the last hour settled. This morning I saw Mr. Cornelius, who introduced me to his friend, Miss H., to whom I had a letter of introduction from Mrs. K. She and her mother treated me with the greatest kindness, and have promised to render me assistance about furnishing my room, which will be a great favor.

"I find one Baptist brother here, Mr. Ira Chase, who appears to be a very pious and excellent man, and one of the best scholars here. I am very much pleased with what I have seen of the institution. Through the merciful providence of God, nothing has occurred of an unpleasant nature since I set out, except the delay, and that was undoubtedly for some wise purpose. I have the greatest reason to bless God for all his benefits. All that I want is a grateful heart. I have found friends whenever I needed them, and have been preserved through every danger in good health."

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property bequeathed to him by an English gentleman, whom Mr. P. had greatly befriended when the former was a stranger and sick in this country. On the occasion referred to, Mr. P. entertained at his house the leading Baptist ministers and laymen of the city and neighborhood. The son of Mr. Paul has been a successful and esteemed teacher in Providence and in Boston. It was always a source of pleasure to Dr. Wayland to show the son any kindness by which he could evince the respect in which he had held the father.

The Andover of that day was a small and very scattered village, having three stores in the space of three quarters of a mile, and "not even a shoemaker's or a blacksmith's shop that I have perceived." "The institution is a plain four-story brick building, containing thirty-two convenient rooms, or about that. The dining-hall is outside of the house. We board, as students ought to, with the greatest plainness and simplicity."

Upon the catalogue of 1816–17 are the names of sixty-seven students. Among them were Ira Chase, Joel Hawes, Alvan Bond, Pliny Fisk, Miron Winslow, Hiram Bingham, Theodore Clapp, Orville Dewey, Luther T. Dimmick, Jonas King, Henry J. Ripley, Worthington Smith, and Joseph Torrey. With all his fellow-students he enjoyed kind and fraternal relations, and had the pleasure, at times, of ministering to the slighter bodily ailments of some of them, as well as to those of a few families residing near the Seminary. He esteemed it a privilege to repay, in some imperfect degree, by his medical skill, the kindness which he, a stranger, and of another communion, constantly received from the members, officers, and friends of the Seminary.

The faculty consisted of Dr. Ebenezer Porter, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric; Dr. Leonard Woods, Professor of Christian Theology; and Dr. Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature. With Dr. Porter and Dr. Woods the Junior class came in contact mainly at the "Professors' Conference." This exercise occupied an evening in every week (or fortnight), and was conducted in turn by the several professors. After the regular lecture, opportunity was given for other members of the faculty, or visitors, to speak, and sometimes the students were invited to take part in asking or answering questions, or stating difficulties. We find among the papers left by Dr. Wayland, notes of many of these conferences, and sketches of the remarks of Dr. Woods, Rev. Dr. Spring, and Professor Stuart, upon "methods of becoming more engaged for souls;" "the mortification of a worldly spirit;" "heavenly contemplation," and kindred topics. In his reminiscences, he writes, "The value of these conferences was inestimable. I think they did more to keep alive the spirit of piety than any other service of the week."

It was to Professor Stuart that the instruction of the Junior class was mainly committed. This remarkable man had entered six years before on the great work of his life, as an instructor of those who should interpret to mankind the word of God. He was now thirty-six years old. Though he had not attained the renown which attended the publication of his letters to Dr. Channing, in 1819, and of his Commentaries upon Romans and Hebrews, yet it is probable that at no time of his life were his powers of acquiring and communicating knowledge more splendid. There was need of all the enthusiasm he could create, for the inspiration of the teacher must supply the place of text-books. In 1813, he had published a brief Hebrew Grammar without the vowel points. He was now lecturing to the class upon the Grammar with the points; and these lectures, laboriously taken down by them, constituted their only text-book. The volume containing these lectures is before us. It is written in a clear hand, and the Hebrew is executed with singular care. During all of Dr. Wayland's early life, his handwriting was entirely legible. As he advanced in years, and was forced to write much and very rapidly, one unused to it was obliged to study it attentively. Yet, at the worst, his hand was regular, and one who had mastered it was not troubled with finding the same letter made in a dozen different ways.

In the New Testament, the class used Archbishop Newcome's Harmony of the Gospels, an edition of which had been published in 1814, by the Junior class in the Seminary, under the supervision of Professor Stuart.

The interleaved copy used by our student is filled with notes upon the text, and suggestions taken down from the lips of the professor.

He also wrote, under the direction of the same instructor, dissertations upon many points of biblical criticism. However it may have been while he was at college, not even he, his own most severe censor, could charge upon himself neglect of his advantages while at Andover. Dr. Stuart once said of him to a common friend, "He is an ingrained student."

Of Professor Stuart his pupil never ceased to speak with attachment, gratitude, and reverence. In public and in private he acknowledged the debt he owed to "the instructor of his youth and the undeviating friend of his maturer years." At the semi-centennial celebration of the Seminary, held in 1858, by invitation of the committee he spoke upon the character and services of Moses Stuart. We quote a portion of his words, which exhibit the enthusiastic admiration of youth, confirmed by the matured judgment of threescore.

"You desire me, Mr. President, to speak of the character and services of the late Professor Stuart. It would be impossible for me here to speak on any other subject. Since my arrival in Andover, after an absence of thirty or forty years, I can think of no one else. There were other great and venerable men who occupied the chairs of instruction while I enjoyed the benefits of this institution; but Moses Stuart was my only teacher, for I left at the close of the first year, and his name is associated with all my recollections of Andover. As I look around me, he is ever present to my mind's eye. I see his long Indian lope as he strode over the plank-walk, on his way to the recitation-room. I gaze upon that 'bending lip that upward curled, and eye that seemed to scorn the world.' I hear the tones of that voice, which, more than almost any other that I remember, opened a way from the heart of the speaker to that of the hearer. I hear that laugh in sportiveness, or exultation, or defiance. I hear and see all this, as though it were but yesterday that I sat at his feet, and drank in instruction from his lips.

"I well remember my first introduction to the man to whom I owe so much. It occurred in the stage-coach, between Boston and Andover, when I was coming to enter the Seminary. Professor Stuart and the late Rev. Sereno E. Dwight were among the passengers. The conversation between these two eminent men turned mainly on the Unitarian controversy, which was then occupying a large share of public attention. It was well worth a journey to Andover to witness the movement of Professor Stuart's mind upon this question. While he spoke with the highest respect of the talents and learning of those from whom he differed, the unshaken, elastic, and joyous confidence with which he held the truth as he believed it, stirred your mind like the sound of a trumpet. He was ready at any moment to enter upon the controversy, and to carry it to the utmost limits of exegetical inquiry. All he wanted was a fair field and no favor. All he wished was the triumph of truth, and he was ever ready to surrender any religious belief which he held, if he could not, on the acknowledged principles of interpretation, show that it was taught in the Holy Scriptures. He had examined the New Testament for himself; he knew what it taught, and he panted for a fit occasion of entering into the conflict. I could compare him to nothing but Job's war-horse: 'He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha! and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting.' But in the midst of this constant confidence in what he believed to be true, there was not the remotest trace of malice or unkindness; on the contrary, the tone of his mind was joyous, and even sportive. . . .

"If I rightly estimate Professor Stuart, it was not in the more ordinary elements of mental character that he so much differed from other men. Like other men of decided ability, he was endowed with large power of acquisition, great acuteness, wide generalization, a very retentive memory, and unusual soundness of judgment. It was not, however, to his preëminence in these that he owed his power. That which above all things else made him what he was, was an intense, unflagging, exhaustless earnestness, which obliged every faculty to seize with its whole power on every subject presented to it. No matter whether the subject were great or small, if he thought upon it at all, it was with an absorbing interest. Connected with this were instinctive exultation in success and mortification at even the fear of failure. To fail, after he had done all in his power to secure success, troubled him, whether in his garden or in his study. I well remember that on one occasion he needed a little assistance in getting in his hay, and indicated to his class that he would be gratified if some of us would help him for an hour or two. There was, of course, a general turn out. The crop was a sorry one, and as I was raking near him, I intimated to him something of the kind. I shall never forget his reply. 'Bah! was there ever climate and soil like this! Manure the land as much as you will, it all leaks through this gravel, and very soon not a trace of it can be seen. If you plant early, everything is liable to be cut off by the late frosts of spring. If you plant late, your crop is destroyed by the early frosts of autumn. If you escape these, the burning sun of summer scorches your crop, and it perishes by heat and drought. If none of these evils overtake you, clouds of insects eat up your crop, and what the caterpillar leaves, the canker-worm devours.' Spoken in his deliberate and solemn utterance, I could compare it to nothing but the maledictions of one of the old prophets. I trust that both climate and soil of this hill of Zion have improved since I last raked hay here in Professor Stuart's meadow.

"The full tide of this earnestness was, however, reserved for the investigation of truth, as it is revealed to us in the Scriptures. To this every available hour of his life was consecrated. No earthly pleasure would have weighed with him for a moment, in comparison with the joy of throwing some new light upon a passage of the word of God. For this he labored, for this he prayed, for this he lived; and one of the most animating views which he enjoyed of heaven was, that there he should know all divine truth with a spirit unclouded and unembarrassed. . . .

"We should have a very inadequate idea of the earnestness of his love of truth, did we not remember the difficulties which it encountered. Professor Stuart was, through life, a confirmed invalid, the victim of incessant dyspepsia, and of unconquerable sleeplessness. He was enabled to devote to study but three hours a day, and these were granted to him only on the condition that he consumed almost all the remaining hours in the struggle against disease. His sleep was always broken and interrupted, and if he spent an additional hour in study, he could not sleep at all. When the brief period of study was completed, he devoted himself to exercise, reading of books bearing upon his studies, as travels, reviews, &c., or in conversing with his pupils. It was with so imperfect an organization that his intellectual triumphs were achieved. Most men would have considered high effort under such circumstances an impossibility, and would have relinquished the attempt in utter despair.

"I have spoken of Professor Stuart as endowed with great accuracy of judgment. Here I ought, perhaps, to add a word of explanation. Like men of his strongly nervous temperament, the action of his mind was rapid, and his impromptu opinions were frequently erroneous. But when he gave himself time, and really did justice to himself, few men were, in fact, more reliable. This was in part the result of his large and varied knowledge and extensive observation, but more than all, of the noble unselfishness of his nature. I remember to have heard it remarked, that at the convention, some forty years since, for the alteration of the Constitution of this state, when the question was agitated whether the laws for the support of religion, which created an invidious distinction in favor of Congregationalism, should be abolished, nearly all the oldest and wisest of the Orthodox clergy strongly resisted any change. Professor Stuart, almost alone, opposed them manfully, and in so doing suffered somewhat for a time in the estimation of his brethren. He declared that the state had no right to interfere in the matter of religion, and that Congregationalists possessed no rights whatever which they ought not to share equally with Christians of every denomination. After the lapse of a few years, every one was convinced that he was right; his elder brethren became converts to his opinion, and then no one doubted as to the far-seeing wisdom of Dr. Stuart.

"It becomes me more especially to speak of Professor Stuart as an instructor. It was my good fortune, through the latter part of my student life, to enjoy the instructions of two very eminent men. One yet lives, and at the age of nearly fourscore and ten, with his eye not dim, though his bodily force is abated, still presides over the institution of which for more than half a century he has been the most distinguished ornament. *Clarum et venerabile nomen!* Long may he live to adorn and bless humanity, and to temper the brilliancy of eminent ability with the mild lustre of every Christian virtue. The other was Moses Stuart, whose name for so many years was a tower of strength to this institution. If I do not err, he was one of the most remarkable teachers of his age. His acquaintance with his subject in the class-room was comprehensive and minute. There was no sacrifice in his power which he did not rejoice to make, if by it he could promote the progress of his pupils. It seemed as if all he asked of us was, that we should aid him in his efforts to confer upon us the greatest amount of benefit. He allowed and encouraged the largest freedom of inquiry in the recitation-room, and was never impatient of any questioning, if the object of it was either to elicit truth or to detect error. The spirit which animated his class was that of a company of well-educated young men, earnestly engaged in ascertaining the meaning of the word of God, under the guidance of one who had made every sentence and every word in the original languages the object of special and successful study. This alone would have been sufficient to place Moses Stuart in the first class of instructors. But to this he added a power of arousing enthusiasm such as I have never elsewhere seen. The burning earnestness of his own spirit kindled to a flame everything that came in contact with it. We saw the exultation which brightened his eye and irradiated his whole countenance, if he had discovered some new use of *vav conversive* which threw light upon a phrase of the Old Testament; or if, by some law of the Greek article, a saying of Jesus could be rendered more definite and precise; and we all shared in his joy. We caught his spirit, and felt that life was valuable for little else than to explain to men the teachings of the well-beloved Son of God. If any one of us had barely possessed the means sufficient to buy a coat, or to buy a lexicon, I do not believe that he would for a moment have hesitated. The old coat would have been called upon for another year's service, and the student would have gloried over his Schleusner, as one that findeth great spoil. It seemed as though in his class-room we became acquainted with all the learned and good of the past and the present; we entered into and we shared their labors; we were co-workers with them and with our teacher, who was the medium of intercourse between us and them. We hung upon his lips in the lecture-room; we coveted his sayings in his walks or at the fireside; and any one of us was rich for a week, who could report his *obiter dicta*, ever replete with wit, learning, and generous, soul-stirring enthusiasm.

"With all this love of inquiry, his discipline in the recitation-room was strict and exacting. He expected every man to be like himself, *totus in illis*, and his expectation was rarely disappointed. His reverence for the word of God was deep and all-pervading. I remember but one instance, under his teaching, of any trifling with the word of God. The offender, who was odd, opinionated, and constitutionally wanting in reverence, had read an essay which seemed intended to create a laugh. The rebuke which he received was such that we all quailed in our seats. I fancy that many years elapsed before such an experiment was attempted again.

"I do not know that I can better illustrate the effect of his teaching upon his pupils, than by stating my own experience in a single particular. My acquaintance with Professor Stuart continued until his death. He always treated me with peculiar kindness, and was frequently a guest at my house. He invariably addressed me, after my settlement in the ministry, as 'brother.' I, however, could never reciprocate it. I could no more have called him brother, than I could thus have addressed my own venerated father.

"Speaking of the kindness of Professor Stuart recalls another subject, to which I ask leave here to make an allusion. I came from what was then considered a distant part of the country, wholly unknown, and, as some of you may have heard, was then and ever have been a Baptist. Until I came here, there was but a single individual in Andover whom I had ever seen. The lines which distinguished the denominations of Christians were more distinctly visible then, than now. Under these circumstances the question may be asked, Was I treated with entire impartiality? I feel bound to answer it with truth, and I must say that I think now, and I thought then, that I was not treated with strict impartiality. I think that because I was a stranger, and a member of another denomination, I was treated with a degree of kindness to which I had not the shadow of a claim, and which it would be base in me did I not here, in this public manner, thankfully acknowledge. I hope I have not forgotten the lesson, and I think I see in this assembly the faces of those who would testify that under other circumstances I have delighted to put it in practice. I need hardly add that this partiality has continued unabated to the present moment, or I should not have been requested, in the presence of such men as I see before me, to speak in commemoration of my instructor and friend."

It will readily be believed that life at the Seminary afforded but scanty material for narrative. The daily arrival of the stage was an incident; the receipt of a letter from home (after a passage of ten days from Troy), or a ride to Boston to buy a stove, was an event. But his happiness, his real life, was in his study and in the lecture-room. The day on which he first opened Kuinoel, or became the possessor of Schleusner, the day on which Professor Stuart threw new light upon some utterance of the Lord Jesus, or reconciled an apparent discrepancy in the several evangelists, or pointed out a new instance of parallelism in the prophets, or enabled his rapt pupils to see the world of meaning that lay hid in a pattagh furtive, or a daghesh forte, — these were the epochs of his life. "It was at Andover that I first learned to study," he once said. This statement is not inconsistent with what he has said of his obligations to an earlier teacher. Mr. Barnes taught him to study as a boy; to know accurately what was contained in the page before him. Dr. Stuart taught him to look beyond the page and the text-book, to inquire, to reason, to gather knowledge from various sources, and to pour its concentrated light on the interpretation of the revealed Word — to study as a man.

And with his mind, his soul kept pace. The prayers of parents eminent for nearness to God hovered over him; he was studying the Word with the ardor of a heart newly informed with divine love; he was associated with Christian teachers and pupils, and he trod daily the grounds, and entered the rooms, where had been formed and nurtured the lofty purposes of the earliest American missionaries. Although now scarcely a year had passed since his conversion, he exhibited the traits of a matured piety.

Among his papers is one dated "Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1816." In it he recounts, with gratitude, the mercies bestowed, during the closing year, upon the country, the deliverance from famine, the freedom from foreign war and domestic division, the enlarged liberality and enterprise of the people of God, shown in the formation of the American Bible Society, and in the diffusion of Sabbath schools, the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, the multiplication of revivals, and the blessing granted to missionary labors. He enumerates the divine favors shown to himself personally, the continuance of his life and health, his own conversion and call to the work of the ministry, the continued blessing of "very pious and praying parents," and the conversion of one of his sisters.

"But what return have I made for all these blessings?" He laments his spiritual deficiencies in terms that, to any eye but that of the All-seeing One, might appear exaggerated, and concludes thus: —

"O Lord my God, I now come to thee for purification of this vile nature. Wilt thou be pleased in thy infinite mercy, through Christ thy Son, to purify me. O, wilt thou be pleased to give me greater views of thy holiness, and of my exceeding sinfulness. May I see more of the evil nature of sin, and hate it more thoroughly. I beseech thee, show me thy glory. Give me such views of thyself as shall effectually detach me from this evil world and from myself, and make me cleave to thee with full purpose of heart. I am unworthy of the least of thy favors, and am full of self-righteousness and sin, the greater part of which, infinitely the greater part, I am totally blind to. Wilt thou be pleased to make me to examine myself carefully, prayerfully, closely, sincerely, and, if I am a hypocrite, wilt thou, in infinite mercy, convert me by thy grace, and sanctify my heart. O, give me more holiness of heart. Make me to love thee more, and to serve thee better than I ever have done. May my soul and all I am and have be thine forever. Give me greater knowledge of thee and of heaven. If it please thee, may I have some clearer evidence of my adoption, if I am thy child. Wilt thou forgive my coldness and neglect of thee, and all my sins. O, wilt thou shine into my soul. Give me more knowledge of the Redeemer, and the way of salvation through him. O God, thou who art, as I would humbly trust, my Father, wilt thou hear this prayer for the sake alone of Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, to whom, to thee, and the Holy Spirit, shall be the glory. Amen."

The following to William L. Stone, Esq., at that time editor of the "Whig," Hudson, N. Y., is the first of many letters addressed to one who afterwards became his brother-in-law, and a most valued and trusted friend. It exhibits his fidelity to one then unconverted, who was four years his senior, and yet more largely in advance of him in knowledge of the world.

". . . The same paper informed me of the death of Gouverneur Morris. So one generation passeth and another cometh. Gouverneur Morris is now in eternity. The place which once knew him will know him no more forever. His plans, schemes, desires, and aversions are forever departed. He has gone to answer for the deeds done in the body, whether they are good or evil. The difference between a good being and a bad one, we were told by Dr. Woods the other evening, is, that the first lives for the honor and glory of God, the other does not. This affords us a very simple test, whereby to try ourselves. . . . But whither am I straying? I was almost unconsciously led to this length, by the importance of the topic. If these hints should lead your mind to a serious train of thinking on these momentous concerns, I shall be highly gratified, and, I hope, suitably thankful. I trust, when you write, you will give me your thoughts on these subjects."

To his parents, December 29, 1816; —

"It is now with you Christmas holidays. We know not so much as whether there be any Christmas, in New England. I was busily employed in digging Hebrew roots on the day when you were rejoicing, and knew not, till evening, that it was the 25th of December.

"I feel sensible that there is danger of growing cold in the things of religion. There is danger lest we, in love for science, lose the ardor of love for God. Critical investigation is the same, unless sanctified, whether it be employed on the Scriptures or on any other book.

"When investigating the Scriptures, we are, however, more liable to be off our guard, and, of course, more exposed to temptation. This is the subject on which we have several times been warned by the professors. I pray (and I know that you will also) that God will keep me near to him, that he will give me such views of his glory as will completely abstract me from the world, and fix my thoughts, affections, and whole soul upon him. I have been the subject of many doubts and fears since I have been here; at times ready to give up all hope; when again I have dared to hope, frequently afraid that my confidence was unfounded; equally afraid to offend God, on the one hand, by my unbelief, and on the other, by presumption."

His correspondence with his valued friends, Dr. and Mrs. Stoddard, maintained the intimacy and attachment which had previously been to him a source of so much profit and happiness.

To his younger brothers, after engaging their attention by an account of his journey and a description of Andover, he writes, —

"But the principal object of this letter, my dear brothers, is to give you a warning on the important subject of religion. . . . Let me then solemnly advise you, first, make it a point, every morning and evening, seriously to pray to God that he will preserve your lives and convert your souls. Do this solemnly, and do not just skim over the duty, but recollect you are addressing the God who could crush you in an instant. Second, let no day pass over your heads without taking up your Bible, and praying that God would instruct you and grant you his assistance in reading it. Then read a portion, not more, in general, than twenty or thirty verses, and try to understand the meaning of them, and recollect it. Third, strive to recollect constantly, that you are living for eternity. I hope, my dear brothers, the time is not long before I shall hear that you have become Christians."

To his parents, January 31, 1817: —

". . . As to my medical practice, I gave all the powders [alluding to some sent him, at his request, by Dr. Burritt] to a brother who had a long term of rheumatism. The students (among whom I usually exercise my skill) are generally poor. The greater number are, like myself, assisted by the funds of the institution. Of course I should not think of charging them anything. I would not think of practising in the town if I could. My time is so much taken up that I could no more do it than perform an impossibility. Before I came here I had no idea how closely my time would be occupied. I am, indeed, glad that it is so; otherwise there would be too great a tendency to distract my mind from the grand object of my pursuits.

"Perhaps it would please you to have a brief account of the business of the day with me here. I have risen through the shortest days at six o'clock, nearly an hour before it was light enough to see to read. That is the time of the ringing of the first bell through the term. From six to seven is spent in private and family devotions. At seven the bell rings for prayers, which one of the Senior class conducts. The exercises are singing, reading a portion of Scripture, and prayer. Thence we repair to breakfast. From breakfast till nine o'clock is, or ought to be, devoted to exercise. At nine we commence study, and study till half past twelve, when we eat dinner. From one to three, study. At three, recitation.

This generally continues till prayers, at five. After prayers (in the evening by the professors in rotation), supper. After supper, a little exercise, and then study or writing till half past ten. From that time till eleven, devotions; at eleven, bed. Sometimes, however, we go to bed a little earlier. On Mondays and Thursdays, we recite Hebrew; on Tuesdays and Fridays, Greek. There is no skimming over the surface here. A man must go to the bottom, if he goes at all.

"The recitations are not simply recitations of language; that is a very small object. The main thing is to get the meaning, and find out the intent of every passage we go over. O that all my advantages may have a proper effect, and make me more humble, more sensible of my ignorance, and more devoted to God! O my father, could I have that holy faith, that love to souls, which the primitive Christians had, how happy I should be! I hope that God will not suffer me to seek great things for myself, but will make me willing to be anything or nothing, in the wilderness or city, just as he shall appoint.

"O, why should my dear mother be perplexed because clouds and darkness are round about Him? God, my dear mother, is good to Israel. His faithfulness never will fail. What if, in a little anger, he has hidden his face? He has poured out upon us the very greatest of his favors. How great have been his favors to me! Could they have been greater? Have we lacked anything? Has not goodness, has not the greatest mercy, followed us all the days of our life? God, with respect to my dear father, has not yet made his dispensations plain; but that does not belong to us. He has made him the instrument of calling many sons to glory, who will be his crown of rejoicing in another world. Is not this enough? What if his dispensations, in infinite wisdom, interfere in a small degree with our comfort? Should this distress us? Do we not deserve it? What is our humiliation to that of Him who had not where to lay his head? . . . I pray you, write frequently. I almost fear I love you, and my dear brothers, sisters, and friends, too much."

To his sister, upon her marriage to Mr. Stone: —

"Permit me, my dear sister, to wish you the greatest happiness, from the bottom of my heart. May you increase, during a long life, in piety, usefulness, and of course in felicity. In few words, may every gift and grace of the Holy Spirit rest upon you and your dear husband, to make you blessings to the world in time, and meet to be partakers with the saints in light in eternity. If I could say more to express my good wishes, I would; but how can I?"

To his parents: —

". . . Your letter containing fourteen dollars was received in due time. Permit me to thank you and the other givers for it. It arrived very opportunely. It has cleared me from debt, and brightened my prospects for a short time. I have some work in the library, which will probably bring me in about ten dollars; this, as I shall board myself, will keep me during vacation.

"Your letter conveying the intelligence of the death of my dear friend Mrs. K. was received. While I could not but be deeply affected that God had removed a person whom I had ranked among the most affectionate of my friends, I felt a desire gratefully to acknowledge that unspeakable goodness, which had redeemed her soul from the terrors of the second death. This act of mercy and goodness will afford matter of praise to all eternity. When I left Troy I was much impressed with the situation of my friend, and was enabled to talk to her, the last time I saw her, with seriousness, and I hope with some faithfulness. Her case was very frequently in my mind when I attempted to draw near the throne of grace. When the news of her dangerous illness reached me, it excited afresh my desire and anxiety for her conversion. When I first came on, I wrote to her, among my earliest letters, and endeavored to press upon her the importance of an interest in Christ. When I heard of the goodness of God to her soul, you may imagine with what sentiments of gratitude it inspired me. I could not but return my warmest thanks to Him who had made bare his arm to save her from going down to the pit. May I not hope that the means which God in so much mercy enabled me to use, may have had some effect upon her mind. If he has used me as the least instrument, glory be to his name; if he has not, he has done the work, and equal glory be his due. I have been led to reflect, since this mournful news, upon the goodness of God which enabled me to be faithful, in some small degree, in speaking and writing to her. For whether these means were blessed or not, I had the duty to perform, and should have been criminal, had I neglected it. I hope this will be a solemn warning to me, never to neglect the souls of my friends."

To his parents: —

"With respect to keeping school, I have not as yet determined. I probably shall, when I go to Boston. Possibly a tutorship in some college would be the most eligible situation that I could procure. I dislike to be a burden upon my Pedobaptist friends here for clothes. It is enough that they should furnish me board, and aid me as much as they do. I hope I shall be guided in the path of duty. Though it would be a disagreeable thing to be put back for a year, yet I think that I could look it in the face composedly."

He mentions an opportunity which would offer for sending him a parcel, and adds, —

"I hope you will give all of my friends notice of this opportunity, so that I may not receive less than twelve or eighteen letters. You have no idea of the gratification which a letter from home possesses for me in my isolated situation."

It will be remembered that this was when the old exorbitant rates of postage (eighteen and three quarter cents on a letter from Troy to Andover) rendered correspondence a burdensome luxury, and caused opportunities for inexpensive carriage to be very welcome.

It is painful to remark the evident depression pervading this letter. He was far from his home, and as he wrote, on the last day of the session, all his classmates and associates were preparing to return to their homes for the spring vacation. He was poor and dependent, and, worse than all, had nothing definite to anticipate.

He writes, in his recollections, "I left home with very small means. Although I used the utmost economy in Andover, these means were soon exhausted. Clothes wore out, and I had nothing with which to replace them. Books were needed, and the purchase of them exhausted my limited resources." A Hebrew Bible and Lexicon cost, at that time, from thirty to forty dollars ;* but he expressed a hope of effecting some saving by importing a Bible from Germany. It was not on his imagination that he drew, but on his memory, when he described one of Stuart's pupils purchasing a Lexicon, rather than a much-needed coat. He once showed his sons a copy of Schleusner's New Testament Lexicon, in two volumes, bound in parchment, and said, "While I was at Andover I had ten dollars left. I was very much in want of a coat. I had an opportunity to buy this book for ten dollars, and so I went without the coat."

The scanty supplies which reached him from home proved altogether insufficient; there was no opportunity to earn any thing by labor while remaining at the Seminary. To the members of his own denomination in New England, who would perhaps have aided him, he was unknown.

Though painful, the discipline of the year was not useless to him. It impressed him with the need of depending on his own exertions. It enabled him, in subsequent life, to sympathize with those who, in the face of adversity, were striving after mental culture. He ever held it alike a duty and a pleasure to aid those students who were in need, and who afforded evidence that help would be well bestowed. He thought that such assistance was best rendered, not by the indirect and often indiscriminate agency of an organization, but through the direct, discriminating contact of giver and receiver. An honored minister in a north-western state writes, "About my Junior year in Brown University, I had run myself full length aground, and could see no way of getting over the bar. Short rations in my room took the place of board, and every draft on the treasury was met with, 'No funds.' At about the third watch of that very dark night, President Wayland sent for me to come to his room (not always the most welcome summons). When I entered, he lifted up his spectacles, and said, 'Well, H——, how are you getting along?' I made some sort of a reply. He varied the question continuously, until he had learned something of the state of my finances. Then he said pleasantly, 'Well, H——, I think we must do something for you. Here are five dollars; take this, and we will try to help you along.' I left, drawing a great deal less water than I had been doing, and soon found myself over the bar. Similar instances were too numerous to make this incident of value to any one but myself. With me it is precious. I knew him as the 'friend in deed' of the struggling student."

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* It will be remembered that this was not long after the close of the war of 1812.

It was probably amid these circumstances that he learned the meaning of the lines he used not unfrequently to quote from Beattie's Minstrel: —

> "Ah, who can tell how hard it is to climb
> The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar?
> Ah, who can tell how many a soul sublime
> Has felt the influence of malignant star,
> And waged with Fortune an eternal war?"

And the history of that year burned into him a deep and invincible horror of debt. Never again would he place himself in circumstances where he had not the means of meeting his liabilities.

Shortly after writing the letter last quoted, and while weighed down by anxiety, he received a letter from his friend and former instructor, Professor McAuley, of Union College, who wrote, "When I had the pleasure of seeing you last summer, we had some talk of a tutorage. There will be a vacancy here next Commencement. Would you wish me to make application in your behalf? Nothing would give me more real pleasure than to have you here. And I think the thing practicable now."

The correspondence thus opened resulted in his appointment. In his reminiscences he says, "I have received many appointments since, some of which seemed important; some instances of what men call good fortune have happened to me; but I cannot recollect anything of the kind that afforded me so much joy as this. It gave me the means of living; it enabled me to pursue my studies; and it was a sort of recognition of ability and acquisition, which I had never hoped for, but which was all the more gratifying." To his father he writes, —

> "I cannot but view this as a peculiar instance of the goodness of divine Providence. I imagine that I shall be much better fitted for the work of the ministry in consequence of the knowledge I shall have the opportunity of acquiring at Schenectady. Besides, every other door for support seemed closed. Want stared me in the face, and not with the most lovely aspect. . . . I think I can save enough to enable me to complete my studies without embarrassment, and to purchase such books as I shall need. I hope also that I shall have something to give away."

At the close of the Seminary year he left Andover, expecting, at some subsequent time, to return and complete his theological course. The year thus completed had momentous bearings on his character and attainments. The instructions of Professor Stuart awakened in him a love, hitherto unfelt, for exegetical study. The study of physiology and medicine he had previously pursued with interest and pleasure; but languages he had studied, only under the pressure of discipline or from a sense of duty. Yet not philological study in general, but the study of the Scriptures, here gained a place in his regard that it never ceased to hold. The matchless expositions of Romans, of the Gospels, and of Ephesians, which he gave during his later years, in the college Bible class, in the university chapel, and in the pulpit and vestry, never could have been given, but for the year at Andover.

We venture to quote a few sentences from Professor Park's admirable delineation of the character of Moses Stuart. It is not difficult, in the lineaments of the teacher, to remark the source of many characteristics of the pupil.

> "In his creed the Bible was first, midst, last, highest, deepest, broadest. He spoke sometimes in terms too disparaging of theological systems. But it was for the sake of exalting above them the doctrines of John and Paul. He read the scholastic divines, but he studied the prophets and apostles. . . . When he uttered censure, too severe perhaps, upon the abstractions of our divines, it seemed to be, not that he loved philosophy less, for he aspired after a true philosophy, but that he loved Jesus more."

While ascribing to his year at Andover a great and beneficent influence in preparing him for the destinies divinely appointed him, it would be uncandid to withhold the remark, that, in looking back from an advanced period of life, he was of opinion that there were liabilities attending a course of study in a seminary which needed to be guarded against with peculiar care, particularly the tendency to attach a disproportionate value to the mental, and an inadequate value to the moral, preparation for the ministry. He also thought, that, great as are the facilities offered by a seminary with a learned and able faculty of instruction, there are advantages, by no means slight, scarcely attainable in a seminary, which are afforded by a course of instruction under a settled pastor of solid attainments and eminent piety.

Allusion has repeatedly been made to the kindnesses received by him from all the members of the faculty, and from Mr. Cornelius, as also from Mr. and Mrs. Farrar, and from the daughter of Mrs. Farrar, afterwards the wife and widow of Dr. Cornelius. The fact that these, and so many of his early friends, instructors, and associates, — Dr. Nott, Dr. McAuley, Dr. Yates, Dr. Burritt, Dr. Nettleton, Dr. Wisner, and Bishop Potter, — were outside his own denomination, perhaps demands a single remark. His association with these brethren of other sects was, in one respect, disadvantageous to him. He was not known by the denomination to which he belonged, and with difficulty gained a *status* among them. But this disadvantage was temporary, and had ample compensations.

To these early associations, in part, he owed it, that he was not a Baptist traditionally, nor by sympathy merely, but by conviction and scriptural argument. While no effort was ever made to proselyte him, yet it was unavoidable that he should hear the views of the Pedobaptists stated in the strongest possible form, and as unavoidable that he should inquire into their validity. It is not known that the questions of denominational difference were ever brought to an issue between himself and his exegetical instructor, unless the following may be deemed an exception. Professor Stuart had urged with much emphasis the statement that the form of baptism is entirely immaterial, and that the temper of heart in the subject is the only matter of moment. "If such is the case," asked the pupil, "with what propriety can baptism be administered to those who cannot be supposed to exercise any temper of heart at all, and with whom the form must be everything?" a question, we venture to suggest, which will bear asking a great many times. As a result of the association to which we have alluded, he held to the sentiments of the Baptist denomination, not as the faith of his fathers, but as the effect of conscientious and intelligent conviction.

But another result of this early and most friendly commingling with members of other sects, was a profound, broad, generous catholicity of spirit. He fully concurred in the sentiment of Andrew Fuller, that the points in which evangelical Christians agree, are more numerous and more momentous than those in which they differ. There was not in his nature a single fibre of the bigot, or of the mere sectarian. To be the leader of a sect, was a purpose to which he never stooped. And on the other hand, few men have ever addressed the public who have had larger and freer access to men of all parties from whom he widely and resolutely differed. "He called himself, as he was, 'an old-fashioned Baptist.' But this positive and strenuous nature, with its clear convictions for itself, was singularly liberal and catholic. His friendship knew no church lines. His hand was joined with good men of every name, and he was fellow-citizen with all the saints."* (Rev. Dr. Caldwell's Discourse.) This liberality was traceable partly to the breadth of the nature which he brought from the hand of God, and which would not bear the confinement of sectarian limits; in part, to the positiveness and strength of his own convictions, which were so firmly, so intelligently held, that they did not need to be reënforced by bigotry, or secluded from the rays of a Christian and catholic charity; and in part, to his early surroundings.

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* Scarcely any one, of whatever denomination, more rejoiced in the success of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners, of which body he constituted himself and his venerated father, honorary members. A gentleman in Providence remarked, "I was for nine years chairman of the committee of the —— Congregational Church, and whenever we fell into any difficulty, or needed counsel, the first man we went to was Dr. Wayland." Not many months before his death, he attended the sessions of the Providence Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was deeply impressed with the earnestness of the ministry, the laboriousness of the bishops, and the many excellences in the Methodist system of discipline. In 1863 he read with delight and edification the charge of Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, and circulated a large number of copies of that admirable and most evangelical discourse. And his last religious conversation, less than two days before the fatal stroke, was held with a minister of the Society of Friends.

In allusion to the associations in which he was placed, both at Andover and at Union College, he writes, —

> "I was thus thrown into intimate intercourse with Christians of all the most important sects. I think that this has had a material influence upon my subsequent opinions. I saw in the character of these eminent Christian men what is essential and what is incidental in the religious life. It has ever since been my happiness to be on the most intimate terms with Christians of every sect, without regard to denominational differences. I believe most strongly that the sentiments which I profess are, in their peculiarity, the teachings of the New Testament; but they seem to me to be small, in comparison with a temper of heart towards God and man, in harmony with the temper of Christ. I had written above, 'immeasurably small;' I have erased the word 'immeasurably.' This, as it was written, is true of the individual, but not of the church as an organized society. The special peculiarity of the Baptist belief is, that the church of Christ is really composed of none but regenerate persons, and that the visible church should, so far as our imperfect judgment will admit, be formed on this model. Pedobaptism, in all its forms, tends to obliterate this grand truth; and therefore, in this respect, I do not think the differences between us and others *immeasurably* small."

CHAPTER IV.

UNION COLLEGE. — DR. NOTT. — DR. YATES. — RELIGIOUS AWAKENING. — ASAHEL NETTLETON. — ANXIETY.

DR. WAYLAND writes in his reminiscences as follows: —

"I commenced my labors as tutor with but small literary capital. I had passed through college at a very early age. My instructors in language were generally tutors who had themselves been taught by tutors. I added but little in college to the knowledge I had acquired at the academy. During the study of medicine, I had scarcely read a sentence either of Latin or Greek. I had gained at Andover, but it was principally in knowledge of the Greek Testament, and in knowing what to aim at in the interpretation of that book. In such a course as that at Andover, it was not to be expected that the students should go back to the study of grammar, though it must be confessed that this step would, in many cases, have been advantageous. But now I was called upon to teach the languages, paying at first the principal attention to grammatical forms. To these I devoted myself. I could find, however, but few books to aid me in my labor. The Westminster and the Gloucester Greek Grammars were then in general use. Goodrich's translation of Hackenberg was just introduced. The library contained not even a valuable Greek lexicon, and hardly anything better in Latin. I, however, commenced my work in a good spirit. The Freshman class was small. I taught as well as I could, having three recitations a day. I read with the class, the first term, a part of the first book of Xenophon's Cyropædia; the second term we finished that and read the second and third; the third term we read five books. I awakened some interest in my class, and I trust my instructions were profitable both to them and to myself. In both my other studies I labored with equal assiduity; and I think that by the close of the first year I had established a reputation for earnest and faithful teaching, and resolute disposition for labor."

In his correspondence with his home, we can remark, increasingly, a tacit recognition of his position as counsellor of the entire family, not in the least assumed on his part, but somehow falling to him spontaneously.

To his brother D., who was employed in a store at Albany, he writes: —

"While I would scrupulously guard against anything like servility or meanness, I would strive to conduct in so obliging a manner to every one, that they should become my friends. The grand principle is, Do as you would, if placed in the same circumstances, wish to be done by. . . . You will probably be a merchant. I hope you will not limit your ideas simply to the buying and selling of cloth. You ought to be well acquainted with the geography, and particularly with the productions, of every part of the earth; where the best of every kind of merchantable produce may be procured; what events are likely to produce a change of markets; and why an article is high at one time and low at another. Every scrap of knowledge, on such subjects as these and a thousand others, should be picked up by you and hoarded like gold."

Of another brother he writes to his parents, —

"What are you thinking of doing with J.? I have been thinking of education for him."

To his brother J., after speaking of study and improvement: —

"If I had had an elder brother to direct me when I was at your age, it would have been of inestimable value to me. I wish to act towards you as an older brother ought, and all I want of you is to consider my advice, and if it appears good, follow it. When you play, play with all your might; when you study, study with all your might. Never be lingering, and waiting, and idly gazing around, while time, and especially while youth, is so short."

To his sister, Mrs. S., who had lately removed to Hartford: —

"You are now, of course, a stranger in H.; you have no *character*. You will understand what I mean. I mean to speak in the terms of conversation — no one knows what sort of a woman you are. This state is attended with a manifest advantage — that it is in your power to establish just such a character as you shall choose. Ask yourself, therefore, what is that character. Fix it distinctly in your mind; then decide what are the means for attaining it. For instance, you would wish to be amiable, and to appear so. For it is not enough that you *are* so; you *should appear* so. Avoid, then, sedulously, all censoriousness. Banish from your conversation all *sharp remarks*. An action seems praiseworthy: you may think you see some selfish motive concealed. Perhaps you only think so, and think so groundlessly; would you, then, injure the reputation of an innocent person? But if you are right, has society committed to you the office of censor? Are you obliged to perform the unpleasant task of making a disclosure which shall render the individual and her friends your enemies for life? Ah, my sister, it is much more difficult to make friends than to alienate them. I am rather particular on this head, as I think you, from your natural disposition, would, as well as myself, be likely to err in this thing. Again, you would wish to be, and appear, discreet and prudent. You would wish to avoid saying things, which in twenty-four hours you would desire unsaid. Propriety, it must be premised, is to some extent a local thing: what would be proper in T. may be greatly improper in H. Of this you must inform yourself by close observation of the manners of the people, and silent remarks on their habits of conversation, and, above all, by learning to think before you speak. Reflect what may be the bearing of what you are going to say. Perhaps you may by doing this lose the opportunity of saying some witty things. But people are not *loved* for their witty sayings; and a woman, always recollect, is an object to be loved, and not to be feared or gazed at. To be loved is, or ought to be, the ambition of a woman. . . . I am glad to hear that you like Mr. Hawes so well. I am pleased to find that he is so pleasantly settled. He is a man of very good mind, and of unquestioned piety."

During the second year, and during all the succeeding years of his connection with the college, he was called upon (in consequence of vacancies existing in the Faculty) to teach every class, and to teach almost everything that was taught in college. "Xenophon, Homer, and Longinus, Tacitus, Cicero, and Horace, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, and the various branches of mathematics, rhetoric, and chemistry, — these I well remember. I was thus enabled to review my college studies, to pursue them more earnestly, and under a much stronger pressure of responsibility, and most of all, to acquire some practical knowledge of mankind, in which I had been unusually deficient."

At a subsequent period of his life, he was conversing with a brother in the ministry, who had held a number of public positions, and who remarked, "Wherever I have been, I have always been thinking of something else, and preparing myself for another position." Dr. Wayland replied, "I have gone on just the opposite principle. Whatever I was doing, I have always fixed my mind on that one thing, and tried not to think of anything else." He proceeded upon this plan while a tutor. He taught Homer as if this were to be his life-long work. Almost forty years afterwards, in speaking to a person engaged in teaching the Iliad, he alluded to Homer's choice of words, and to the importance of accustoming a class to remark the exact shade of meaning conveyed in each instance. "For example," he said, "μῆνιν, in the first line, does not mean wrath in general, but a special kind, a wrath long enduring, unquenchable." While a tutor, he wrote a course of lectures on rhetoric, illustrating all the points discussed by apposite citations from Johnson, Burke, Junius, and many of the classics in prose and verse. During the time he spent as tutor, he read more extensively in literature than he was able to do in later years; for from the time of his entering the ministry until his resignation of the presidency in 1855, he was engaged in pursuits so engrossing as to allow him but scanty leisure for general reading. He also prepared a course of lectures on natural philosophy. In 1852 he wrote to his son, then a tutor, —

"I would have you lecture to your classes all you can. I remember, when I was a student, the awe which was inspired by a lecture. I hardly could conceive how a man could get to be so great as to make one. But more than this, much instruction can be best given in this way. It keeps up the interest in a class. You need not be deterred because you cannot do it as well as the best. Those that now do it the best, once began by doing it not the best."

We quote again from the reminiscences: —

"I think that the greatest benefit I derived was from my intercourse with the gentlemen with whom I was associated. Of these, the most distinguished was Dr. Nott, then in the vigor of his remarkable powers. He was then, as always, very kind to me, and admitted me in many respects to a familiar intimacy. I have known him from that time to the present, as well as persons living at a distance can know each other. I think him decidedly the ablest man whom I have ever known intimately. His mind is in a remarkable degree original and self-sustained. Nothing in books seems to him of any value, unless he has thought it through, and tested it by his own power of intellectual analysis. He possesses — what I suppose to be the mark of genius — the power of using his mind for any purpose, and turning it in any direction. He could have made himself distinguished in any department of science. I have known him to write very good poetry. He was, when in his prime, the most eloquent man I ever heard. He had a decided bias towards physical science, and from his own experiments made himself familiar with the most important laws of caloric. The number of patents which he has taken out attests his skill in invention. To him, more than to any other man, are we indebted for the rapid progress in the use of anthracite coal. His ability as a metaphysician is universally admitted. His knowledge of men, and of the principles of human action, is unrivalled. I suppose that no man ever exerted so great an influence as he in the legislation of New York. With all this, he was the kindest, the most charitable, the most forgiving of men. His conversations on religion had the most splendid range I ever knew, varying from the sublimest conceptions to the tender simplicity of a little child. His executive talent was unsurpassed. He never seemed satisfied unless he was carrying on several kinds of labor, any one of which would have been a full and sufficient task for a single man of ordinary ability. The attachment of his pupils to him has, I think, been equalled only in the case of Dr. Dwight.

"When settled in Albany, his reputation as a preacher was unparalleled. Those who heard his sermon on the death of Hamilton have always declared to me, that it was the most eloquent discourse they ever heard. He always wrote his sermons with care, and committed them to memory so perfectly that he was able to modify and vary the train of thought if he chose, though this, I think, he did not often do. When I once asked him how much time it took him to commit a sermon to memory, he replied, 'Just as much time as I have. The intermission between the services is enough, but I have committed a sermon by reading it over once.' He frequently spoke of the memory as capable of almost unlimited improvement, and said that he had attended a session of the New York legislature, when he had been able to report the day's proceedings with more accuracy than they were given by the salaried reporters for the press.

"I do not think that his voice was remarkable either for clearness or for power. His gestures were not numerous, but always significant. He had the appearance of perfect self-possession, and of conscious power over the audience. So far as I can recall his manner after the lapse of so many years, the excellency which gave him so great power, was in the tones of his voice. I would almost say, they were so perfect that a man who did not understand English would, from his tones alone, have been able to form an idea of the train of thought which he was pursuing. I think his style inferior to his ability. It was frequently involved, the several members of the same sentence sometimes standing at a distance from each other; yet when he *uttered* the sentence, the emphasis, inflections, and tones were so perfect, that every part was distinctly connected with that to which it belonged, and you never failed to *comprehend* his meaning perfectly. A sentence which you would *read* over twice before you understood it, he would so utter that you understood it all perfectly. When to this were joined the tones of emotion adapted to every range of human feeling, you may possibly perceive what must be the effect. He had a short series of sermons on the resurrection, which I heard when I was tutor. I remember at the present time the effect of them. Each sermon seemed to the audience about twenty minutes long, though in reality nearly three quarters of an hour in delivery. I sat all this time perfectly entranced, cold chills running over me from nearly the commencement to the close. When he uttered the 'Amen,' the whole audience experienced a sensible relief. The strain of attention was so great that men hardly breathed, and as soon as it was over every one took a long inspiration, and felt that he could scarcely have endured the effort of concentration much longer. Perhaps we may ascribe part of the effect to my youth, and to my deep veneration for the speaker. I have endeavored to make known the effect of Dr. Nott's speaking on *me*. I can also bear witness to the fact, that those of my friends, who at the time were in the habit of hearing him, had the same estimation of him as a pulpit orator. I confess that no one would receive this impression from his sermons as they are printed. They probably appear stately, ornate, labored, and artificial. But when they were uttered by him, it was as I have stated."

It was, perhaps, in the series of sermons just alluded to, that a passage occurred which Dr. Wayland has been heard to describe as excelling any other to which he ever listened, for dramatic power and effect upon the audience. Dr. N. was exhibiting the absurdity of the supposition that the apostles and early preachers testified falsely in bearing witness to the Lord's resurrection. He supposed them, after the death of Jesus, assembled to frame and carry out the monstrous deception. They consult, they send some of their number to invade the tomb and to remove the body. Presently the messengers deputed for this ghastly errand return; they bring with them the helpless, stark, bloody corpse; they cast it down before the apostles, exclaiming, in tones of contempt, "There is your Christ." And then the apostles go forth everywhere, bearing witness to his resurrection, proclaiming salvation only through his name, sealing their testimony with their blood, careless of reproach, of danger, ignorant of fear, welcoming death. The effect, as described, was overwhelming; and powerful as was the appeal to the feelings, the argument was equally convincing to the understanding.

Dr. Wayland adds, —

> "With all my admiration for Dr. Nott, I think I am not unaware of his errors. As the president of a college, he devoted himself to its material prosperity. Had he sought more to improve its means of instruction and to teach its teachers, so that these means might be well employed, I think his success would have been greater.
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> "His power of influencing men led him also, I think, into errors. It led him to delight in doing things indirectly which might as well be done directly. No one rejoiced more in entire simplicity of character, or dwelt more eloquently upon this trait. Yet somehow every one was afraid that the thing which he seemed to be laboring for, or promoting, was not that which he really had in view. I speak here of the general estimation which has been formed of him. I never experienced anything of the kind myself. I always treated him with perfect simplicity, and he, so far as I know, entirely reciprocated it. I have thought, sometimes, that what seemed to others to be double-dealing and policy was nothing more than a far-seeing sagacity, which enabled him to look much farther than other men, and to prepare for events of which they never conceived, and that this sometimes gave rise to the opinion that he had been laboring to produce, what he only foresaw and provided for. I think that men of eminent sagacity are frequently misjudged in this manner.
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> "An incident which I have often had occasion to remember, will, perhaps, illustrate the singular foresight

of Dr. Nott. Many years ago I chanced to be in New York, about the time of the disturbances which grew out of the abolition meetings that had been held in the city. Similar meetings were held, with similar results, in Boston and Philadelphia. I passed through Schenectady shortly after, and of course spent as much time as I could with my old friend and instructor. These meetings naturally became the subject of conversation. I remarked, with regret, that the meetings had been disturbed, and insisted on the right of free discussion on every subject, but at the same time added, that the course of the abolitionists was such, their language so abusive, their proceedings so calculated to inflame the public mind, that it was scarcely possible, with any mere police force, to protect them. It will be remembered that their course was such, on principle, as to inflame the passions of men, and that they declared that they could arouse the public mind in no other way. Dr. Nott paused, and after a little while said in substance, 'Wayland, remember what I tell you. I may not live to see it, but you probably will. This is one of those questions that can never die. This agitation will spread from city to city until it involves this whole country, and becomes the leading political question of the day.' Both he and I have lived to witness the fulfilment of the prophecy.

"To this remarkable man I owe very much. To no one have I applied so often for counsel, and from no one have I received advice so deeply imbued with Christian principle and far-seeing sagacity. There is no one whose maxims are so often recalled for my direction and for the government of my conduct. I last saw him at New Haven. He was then over eighty-five years of age. He had travelled a full day's ride by railroad, and, in good spirits, was spending the evening with a room full of friends, who had called to do him reverence. He preached twice on the following day with much of his usual vigor, and on Monday by five o'clock A. M. set off on a journey. His physical health was evidently failing, and his power of original thought was probably declining; but his judgment was as sound as ever, and his friendly and loving spirit had suffered no abatement.

"These reminiscences seem, I suppose, to savor of the garrulity of age. It is very possibly so. If it be so, I cannot help it. I am writing, for my children, of the things which I recollect, and which tended to the formation of my character. It is pleasing to recall them, trifling as they are, and, without relating them, I could not accomplish the purpose which I have in view."

We do not imagine that any reader will sympathize in the apprehension expressed in the paragraph just cited; yet we have suffered it (not without some hesitation) to remain, because it suggests the spirit and purpose pervading the reminiscences. They were written simply when he felt himself unfitted for severer labor, and when he could write these sketches only for a few pages at a time, and with intervals of several days, Nor were they revised, or in every case re-read. Yet we venture the belief that the reader would rather have his words, so far as the nature of the narrative allows, than any that can be substituted.

In the passages which we have quoted relative to Professor Stuart and Dr. Nott, there are to be observed, on the part of their pupil, traces of a disposition which, carried to the excess of indiscriminate idolatry, would deserve the name of "hero worship." He had a profound admiration for greatness, intellectual and spiritual. His nature was keenly sensitive to the mysterious magnetism, that goes forth from the divinely-crowned monarchs among men. He delighted to read and repeat their words, to dwell upon their characters and achievements, and to study the pictured lineaments of their outward form. He paid homage to spiritual kings, unaware, while he exalted their prerogative, that he too was of the royal line, and that the reverence he so generously rendered, a coming generation would lay at his feet.

He continues, —

"One other person, now dead, deserves a distinct token of remembrance — Dr. Andrew Yates, who was professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. He was a member of one of the most respectable Dutch families of the state.

His brother Joseph was a judge of the Supreme Court, and afterwards governor. His other brothers were men of distinction in their native state. He was educated at Yale College, and was settled at East Hartford, Conn. Removing from that place, he became professor at Union College. He was a most faithful officer, a strict disciplinarian, and a singularly simple-hearted and pious man. During my connection with the college, its steadfastness of discipline depended more on him than on any other person. Always at his post, always prepared for the discharge of every duty, plain in his appearance and unostentatious in his manners, he was a most valuable example to the younger officers. It was my good fortune to live in his immediate vicinity, and we were thrown very much together. He always treated me with great kindness, and to him I am indebted for much religious instruction, and for many of the most valuable ideas which I possess respecting the Christian ministry. He was fond of preaching, and preached well. He resigned the professorship to commence a polytechnic school, designed to teach the higher branches of education to young men in the practical pursuits of life. He subsequently returned to Schenectady, and devoted himself to the ministry, preaching wherever there seemed to be the greatest need. He found on the Sacondaga Mountains a neglected people, who were entirely destitute of religious instruction. He not only preached to them on the Sabbath, but went out and spent much time with them in the week. In one of his visits he was seized with fatal illness, and in the full enjoyment of a Christian hope he entered into rest."

In this connection we may allude to two other men of subsequent eminence, with whom Mr. Wayland was associated. Benjamin B. Wisner, afterwards pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, and at a later day Secretary of the American Board, had been his classmate, and was now his fellow-tutor. They formed an intimate friendship, which continued until the too early death of Dr. Wisner, in 1835. Alonzo Potter, afterwards rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, professor at Union College, and bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania, graduated in 1818, and the year after was appointed tutor. Shortly after the death of Bishop Potter, Dr. Wayland called upon the editor of the Providence Journal and expressed his intention of furnishing an article commemorative of his life. But the article was never written. He wrote (Aug. 1, 1865) to Rev. Dr. Skinner, of New York, —

"How sad is the death of Bishop A. Potter! He was the earliest friend whom I recollect. He came to the academy just as I left it. He was in his Senior year when I was tutor, and we were tutors together. He came to Boston just as I left, and we have been always intimate. He was a noble fellow, a devout, earnest, God-fearing man. I saw him just before he sailed, when he was looking forward cheerfully to the restoration of his health. The ways of God are not as our ways. His way is perfect; and when a thing is perfect it can be altered only for the worse."

We may here quote from a letter of Dr. Potter, referring to this period.

"I was brought into daily intercourse with him for two years. We ate at the same table, and were much together. I could not but discern, almost at once, his large and genial heart, his warm sympathy with the suffering, his conscientious, strong devotion to the work in hand, whatever it might be, his tenacious grasp of any subject which came up for reflection and discussion, and his resolute and indomitable industry. During these two years he laid me under personal obligations, which I can never forget while memory holds any trace of the past. During a severe illness he nursed me with the affectionate assiduity of a brother, and with the skill and vigilance of a physician. He seemed to think nothing of broken sleep or interruption to his studies. When in health, I was indebted to him for suggestions in regard to self-culture, for an example of high and constant endeavor after all knowledge and all excellences, and for hours of delightful companionship."

We continue extracts from his letters, yet feeling the propriety of a single remark applicable to his entire correspondence. It cannot be claimed for him that he belonged to the highest rank of letter writers. His mind was rarely in the state best fitted for the epistolary art;

it was usually too earnest, too serious, too little at liberty. His letters are always, of course, sensible, intelligent, manly, and, to his friends, affectionate. But he rarely gave himself up to the play of fancy, or to the indulgence of the lighter forms of thought and feeling. He might have adopted, without change, the language of Dr. Channing: "The chief objection I have to writing letters is, that I can hardly do so without beginning to preach. I exhort, when I should smile. Not that I think a letter should be written without a desire to do good, but instruction should be delivered with somewhat less of formality than from the pulpit."

We venture also the remark, that in his earlier letters the subject of religion is introduced with more of formality, with less of spontaneous naturalness, than in his later correspondence. In his youth he wrote about religion because it seemed to be his duty; in later years, it perpetually found its own way into whatever he wrote, because he could not help it.

The following letter illustrates his way of treating a question of duty; he always tried to go back to the general law, the underlying principle, and to settle each case in such a way that a solution should be afforded for all similar perplexities. A near relative had asked his advice about laboring in the Sabbath school contrary to the wishes of her husband.

"In a letter you wrote me some weeks ago, mention was made of the Sabbath school. In cases of that kind I feel very delicate about giving advice. You know it is a very hazardous business to decide between man and wife. I think, however, if I were to express an opinion, it would be, that you are now in the path of duty, waiting for the moving of the pillar. The person who performs a good action at the expense of domestic tranquillity, does it at a dear rate, though sometimes even at that rate it may be necessary to do it. The duty to perform a good action of this kind is different from the duty which results from a positive command. God has commanded all men everywhere to repent, and no circumstances can make it the duty of any human being to do otherwise. Come what will, this duty is to be performed. Again, God has laid down the precepts of the moral law, and we are bound to obey them, and no human power should oblige us to break them. The moment we transgress one of them to avoid persecution, we are seeking the praise of men more than the approbation of God; and we may rest assured he will frown upon our servile, wicked, and idolatrous complaisance. Between these duties to God and duties to men there never can be any comparison. These immediately swallow up the other, and no reasoning is by him ever permitted in the case. But our duties to our fellow-men may sometimes interfere with each other. We may, from some untoward circumstances into which we are thrown, find it necessary to abandon one in order to accomplish the other. But such positions are best illustrated by instances. I hope I shall not be tedious if I name two or three. You are bound to support your family. If you provide not for it, you are worse than an infidel. You are bound to relieve your neighbors' distresses. You may readily suppose yourself in a situation where to perform both duties would be impossible. The one must yield to the other. Take another case. You may suppose a man and woman to commence the world with nothing, and to have acquired by frugality and labor a competence. I make the supposition that they have nothing in the commencement, in order that the case may be perfectly fair, since then, in point of natural right, they would both seem to have an equal power over the property acquired. It is the duty of the wife to bestow charity upon her neighbors in distress. Suppose in such a case the husband forbade it. It would then, I should say, be her duty to acquiesce. And thus I should advise in any case of a similar kind. God accepts the willing mind. He is able to raise up others to do what we should do with pleasure ourselves. We are to consider an object of this kind as a blessing, of which, from the course of events in divine providence, we are prohibited from partaking. Still we should, and doubtless will, pray that the prohibition may be taken off. You see immediately that the reasons of duty in a case of this kind result from the nature of the marriage relation. The nature of this union is indissoluble. In this it materially differs from every other. When two persons are united in business or allied by friendship, should opinions materially interfere, the remedy is at hand: let them part, and each pursue the course which his reason dictates. They can part in good will. Between husband and wife the case is different. *They* cannot part. If one acts in opposition to the will of the other, domestic peace is wounded — I had almost said, destroyed. This, of course, is not to be done unless some greater evil is threatened; and this can rarely, if ever, take place, except in the case of a positive and authoritative command of duty. It follows, of course, that one must yield. Reason and revelation, in this case, decide that it shall be the wife. And in all ordinary cases the wife gains more than she loses. As I have some time before remarked to you, a woman's throne is the affections of her husband. And every honorable means by which she can the more closely entwine herself about his heart, it is lawful that she should use, and she ought to use. Hence, if she gives up one point to-day, she may be able by this means to carry a point to-morrow of ten times as much consequence.

"I have been long on this subject, longer than I anticipated; perhaps I have been tedious. I, however, did not like to give an opinion without giving what seemed to me something like reasons. I thought, also, consequences were involved which might be of importance through the whole of your life, and on which I wished you to have all the light I could give you. If you are angry at my prolixity, I can tell you, by way of alleviation, that I could have written as long again if I had chosen. . . .

"The doubts and fears you mention in your last letter have long been familiar acquaintances of mine. Ah, how often do I doubt whether there ever was the love of God shed abroad in my heart! My evidences are so dark, my practice so contradictory, my heart so hard, my unbelief so strong, my love so cold, I frequently cry out, 'My leanness, my leanness!' Sure I am, if ever a sinner was saved by grace, pure, and free, and infinite, that soul will be mine, if ever it be saved. O for more grace, more love, more faith! Please accept a volume of Chalmers's Sermons. I call them super-excellent. I trust you will read them with profit."

In connection with the closing words of the above letter, we quote from one to his friend Wisner, of about the same date: —

"I have lately been reading Chalmers. The mind of that man moves like a torrent. Vast, irresistible, overwhelming, it sweeps before it the feeble barriers of infidelity, so that, like the baseless fabric of a vision, not a wreck is left behind. After following his track, you look behind you, and with curious gaze inquire, 'Where could infidelity have had a foothold?'"

It is not a little noteworthy that the youthful admiration thus expressed was not lessened by the "years that bring the philosophic mind." His last published volume was a memoir of the religious and philanthropic labors of Dr. Chalmers.

To his brother-in law, Mr. Stone: —

". . . You know much more about politics, newspapers, &c., than I do; but still I will venture one word of advice. I would never, were I you, mention names in a political squib. It takes off the point of the attack, at the same time that it seems more bitter, and malevolent. I should think a painter much sharper, who drew a caricature of me, so pointed and characteristic that every one who looked at it, said, 'That is Wayland,' than a painter who drew one and had to write under it, 'This is Wayland.' for fear nobody would recognize it. The same is true of party thrusts. They pierce deeper and cut the more keenly, the smoother the edge. If a character is drawn with a certain discrimination, he for whom it is designed will soon enough fit it on himself; and then you can, if he complain, immediately retort, 'The galled jade winces.' I am aware you will say these people are so low, they cannot be touched by gentlemanly treatment: I would reply, 'Then let them alone.'

"But, my brother, amidst the turmoil of party, amidst the hurry and bustle of conflicting interests, do you ever have time to look within? Is it peace there? Are the clamors of an accusing conscience hushed by the peace-speaking blood of the cross? This life, whether passed among friends or enemies, in bustle or solitude, is rapidly hastening away. This generation, with all its cares and contentions, will shortly lie side by side in the house appointed for all living, and not one word of rivalry, not one shout of exultation, nor murmur of defeat, will be heard through the silent avenues of that gloomy habitation. This world, the theatre of so many unholy contentions, will shortly be purified by fire. This system, with all its grandeur, will collapse in one universal ruin, and the heavens will be rolled together as a scroll. What will then be of value but an interest in the Savior? In that Savior may we be interested, and the praise shall be to his glorious grace. Amen."

In general he seemed not greatly affected by natural scenery. His mind was habitually too much preoccupied to receive impressions from nature; nor did he possess the "wise passiveness" by which "we may feed this mind of ours." His chief sensibility was to moral grandeur. But the following portion of a letter to his sister shows him by no means destitute of the power of observing and delineating nature: —

". . . I had a pleasant journey to Ogdensburg. I saw and admired the Little Falls, of which you had given me a description. The solemn and sober majesty of the square pillars of granite which crowd around the approach to them is noble and grand. Here and there a pillar projects from the range of its brethren; and on its head you observe a sturdy little pine entwining its roots among the fissures, and surveying with lordly pride the sublime scenery around. On every side you observe most conclusive evidence that the river, or some more noble stream, of which the present is but the pitiful falling off, once rolled its majestic waters over the rocks, through which the road now passes. The rocks are rounded and smoothed; their sides and tops are full of holes worn by the impetuous action of the water. In one of the rocks in the neighborhood, I found a hole large enough to hold six or eight men. Of all villages, Whitesborough takes the precedence. It combines rural elegance with city refinement, in a degree which I never saw, and scarcely expected to see. From Utica to Ogdensburg, the road is through villages and forests. The trees are thick and heavy, and the elm is the most remarkable. Its trunk shoots up seventy-five or one hundred feet, round, straight, without a branch, and seems nearly of the same size. It divides into four or five branches, which for some time continue close together, and then spread out, forming a fitting crown to this pillar of the forest."

To his sister Mrs. S.: —

". . . Of your joining Mr. Hawes's church I have only to say, May you be led by the Spirit of truth. The points which you suggest in your last letter I shall not attempt to answer. I would only say, you or I have mistaken the grounds of the question. I did not, I confess, see distinctly the bearing which the texts you suggested, had upon the thing in dispute. If you are happy, as I presume you will be, in that communion, you may rest assured, as I know you do, that I shall never attempt to unsettle your mind.

"I am grateful that your excellent friends think of me. They probably do it out of respect to you, which is certainly kind and flattering to you, and of course to me; but if you do not wish to injure me, you should be careful how you speak. You may rest assured I am but a very common sort of man. As to acquirements, I am such as I ought to be ashamed of; as to application, still more so. Your friends, you may depend upon it, would never pick me out for your brother, if you have described me as probably you have.

"You know that it is likely our family will remove to Saratoga. I hope it is for the best. I think the prospect of doing good there is encouraging. . . . God is certainly dealing with our family in much mercy. I, for my part, am frequently led to doubt my title to a heavenly inheritance, I have had so little affliction; though He, at whose reproof the pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished, knows well how to try me. When he does, may he do it in mercy, and not in judgment."

Meanwhile his friend Wisner had entered the Seminary at Princeton, and was very anxious that Mr. Wayland should do the same. We can imagine the glowing terms in which he excited the almost envying admiration of his friend, as he told of the "prince of preachers," Dr. Alexander, and of the wise and learned Dr. Miller.

Mr. Wayland writes, —

"You have great privileges, and I doubt not you are prodigiously improving them. I know not how one small head will ever carry all your knowledge. I presume that your Seminary is as good as any in our country, or perhaps in the world; nor do I doubt that you will do honor even to such a Seminary. I pray that with all your gettings you may continue to gain in knowledge of your own heart and of that plan of redemption which it will be our business to preach."

To the letters of Mr. Wisner urging him to repair to Princeton, he replies, —

"I cannot go, for I have not the means. I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed. I cannot, for I do not think it my duty. When Providence sees fit to place the means of effecting an object out of a man's power, it seems conclusive evidence that it is not the divine will that he should proceed in its pursuit; or, more properly, there the question ends. . . . I thank you for the kind and disinterested part which you have taken. I wish I had it in my power to make any return. If the great Husbandman has any work for me to do in his vineyard, I trust he will prepare me, and send me forth. I desire to rely upon him. He has always done for me better than I expected, and infinitely better than I deserved. O that my heart were more melted by his goodness, and more devoted to his praise, and that my faith were more thoroughly placed upon him. I do not dissemble my opnion that I should be a more learned and perhaps useful minister, in the general acceptation of the term, were I with you; nor do I deny that I have a strong desire once more to grapple with men. I would like once more to come upon the arena of a seminary and measure with my peers. But this is a foolish ambition, and, I fear, not a Christian one."

Several months later he writes, —

"I have been disappointed in some money which I expected to receive for private tuition. I have had to pay a debt which, when I saw you, I did not recollect; and this has dwindled down my resources so far that I know not how to go, without being a greater burden on my friends than I am at all willing to become. Would you, my brother, risk the hazard of becoming the burden of charity? I have once done this, and I have known what it was to remain for weeks without enough to pay the dues of the post-office. I have known what it was to be in debt, and without more than one decent suit of clothes. Though the wound of these things is closed by the hand of time, yet the scar remains. I must inevitably borrow; but when shall I ever repay it? I cannot be a burden to my friends. They are few, very few, and I wish to keep them. . . . For all your kindness, my brother, I am under more obligations than I can express. . . . There is considerable attention to the concerns of the soul in the villages about here. Malta has been visited with an abundant outpouring; principally under the instrumentality of Dr. McAuley. Under one sermon which he preached there, nine, I think, were awakened. The work is still progressing. At Saratoga Springs the work is at a stand."

It was at this time that Mr. Wisner and Mr. William B. Sprague, now of Albany, were speaking, in presence of some of their fellow-students, of a young friend, a Baptist, of extraordinary intellectual endowments, who was anxious to come to the Seminary, but was not able to command the means. This conversation took place in the room of Howard Malcom (afterwards pastor of the Federal Street Baptist Church, in Boston, and subsequently president of the university at Lewisburg, Penn.). He at once said, "I will furnish him with two hundred dollars a year, or more if it is necessary, during his course of study at Princeton." Mr. Wisner immediately wrote to communicate this noble offer, and was happy in the expectation of soon welcoming his friend to the prized privileges of professional study. After considerable delay, he received the following reply: —

"Scarcely ever in my life did I feel so perfectly sensible of my unworthiness as upon the receipt of your letter. I am quite undeserving of so much attention and kindness. But how inscrutable are the ways of Providence! If the facts communicated in your letter had been known a few days sooner, I should by this time have been in Princeton. Your letter was missent to Canandaigua. It did not return until day before yesterday evening. The session begins in four days. I had to decide whether I would continue here, so that, if I was to go, my place might be filled. I decided to remain, and informed Dr. Nott to this effect; and I cannot honorably withdraw. I have engaged to teach the Senior class chemistry, and am now immersed, head and ears, in conflicting theories of atoms and volumes, and acids and alkalies. There seems something unusual in this dispensation of Providence. To Mr. Malcom I am under obligations which I hope you will be kind enough to acknowledge. I shall write to him immediately to thank him for his kindness. I have no way, my brother, to return your goodness. I can only beseech Him who has blessed me with such a friend, to shower upon you those gifts of the Holy Spirit which shall make you an eminent minister of the New Testament, and fit you for the enjoyment of him in heaven." *

Of the events just alluded to he writes, in his reminiscences, —

"My destiny in life has been materially affected by the blunder of a postmaster; and I believe that this blunder was directed by infinite wisdom and love. I could not but look upon it as a special providence, intimating my duty in a manner not to be misunderstood. With this event all my plans for pursuing study at a theological seminary ended."

Before many months had passed, the providence seemed to lose something of its mysteriousness. He writes, —

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* The truly beautiful exhibition afforded in this correspondence, of Mr. Wisner's character as a friend and a Christian brother, brings forcibly to mind the touching indorsement placed by the venerable Lyman Beecher upon a letter of Wisner: "That was the man I loved best of all on earth. I never pass the Old South but that I think of Wisner."

"The four years which I spent as tutor were of great service to me intellectually. In a religious aspect, the first two years, at least, had no beneficent tendency. I was engaged in study far too exclusively, and religion became a matter of small and distant reality. The idea gained possession of my mind that I was preparing by study, and the discharge of my duties, for future usefulness. I forgot that the love of God is a duty and a privilege of every day and of every moment.

"About this time all that region was overspread by a revival of religion, especially through the labors of the Rev. Asahel Nettleton. It extended to Schenectady, and entered the college. There was a powerful impression made upon the students, and many of them were converted. The occasion was blessed to me in awakening my conscience and recalling me to my duty. I labored as well as I knew how in the promotion of the work, and saw with delight a great change in the moral character of the young men. In the portion of the college which was under my care, a prayer meeting was established, which continued, I think, until I resigned my office. At nine o'clock every evening, all who chose met at my room for reading the Scriptures and prayer. For some time almost every student in my division attended, each one in turn conducting the meeting."

In the following letter * Mr. Nettleton gives a graphic account of the scenes which so deeply affected the character of the subject of our memoir: —

"South from Malta about twelve miles is the city of Schenectady, and Union College, where I now reside with Dr. McAuley. He takes a lively interest in this good work. I first became acquainted with him last summer at the Springs, and more particularly at Malta, where he frequently visited us, and preached, and conversed, and attended the meetings appointed for those anxious for their souls. On a Sabbath, when a number were to be admitted to the church in Malta, he brought with him several students from the college. Some of them became anxious. About this time one of the students was

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* From Dr. Tyler's Memoir of Nettleton.

called into the eternal world. He was laid out in Dr. McAuley's study. The doctor was anxious to improve this solemn providence to the best advantage. He assembled the students around the lifeless remains of their departed friend, and conversed and prayed with them in the most solemn manner. A number of them engaged to attend to the subject of religion in earnest. From that time many of the students became deeply impressed with a sense of their lost condition. For them were appointed meetings of inquiry. And in this very room, where they lately beheld the breathless corpse of their young companion, and where I am now writing, was witnessed a scene of deep and awful distress. About thirty of the students are brought to rejoice in hope. The revival is now very powerful in the city. Such a scene they never before witnessed. More than one hundred have been converted. Besides these, we had more than two hundred in our meeting of inquiry, anxious for their souls. We met in a large upper room, called the Masonic Hall. The room was so crowded that we were obliged to request all, who had recently found relief, to retire below, and spend their time in prayer for those above. That evening will never be forgotten. The scene is beyond description. Did you ever witness two hundred sinners, with one accord in one place, weeping for their sins? Until you have seen this, you can have no adequate conceptions of the solemn scene. I felt as though I was standing on the verge of the eternal world, while the floor under my feet was shaken by the trembling of anxious souls, in view of a judgment to come. The solemnity was heightened when every knee was bent at the throne of grace, and the intervening silence of the voice of prayer was interrupted only by the sighs and sobs of anxious souls. Some of the most stout, hard-hearted, Heaven-daring rebels have been in the most awful distress. Within a circle whose diameter is twenty-four miles, not less than eight hundred souls have been hopefully borne into the kingdom of Christ since last September. The same glorious work is fast spreading in other towns and congregations. 'This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel.'"

Mr. Wayland writes to Mr. Wisner, —

"Your very welcome letter was received a few days since. I could not till this evening steal time to answer it. I entered my hall this evening, saying, 'Now for a long letter to brother Wisner.' As I walked up stairs, I heard the voice of praise and thanksgiving. I entered the next room to mine, and found about twenty-three, many of them new converts, engaged in a prayer meeting. I joined with them; and this has delayed me, till now my watch points to ten o'clock.

"The Lord hath done great things for us, my brother, whereof I hope we are glad. But we are not half glad enough. There are now about twenty happy converts, and nearly that number more, under serious conviction. As yet the work has been most powerful among the most moral and religiously educated. You may readily conceive that the aspect of college is somewhat altered. It is no difficult thing to collect a prayer meeting at a moment's warning. In fact, if two or three meet together, prayer seems to be almost the necessary consequence. About a week ago I mentioned to one of the converts, who rooms next to me, the expediency of instituting a section prayer meeting, or more properly a family meeting, at morning and evening. It was joyfully acceded to. They chose to meet in my room. And since that time, at the ringing of the first bell in the morning, and between nine and ten o'clock at night, we offer up our devotions at the domestic altar. This incident expresses, I think, the general feeling about college. I have said that the work was generally confined to those who had been religiously educated. This is not, however, universal. The name of Bob —— used to be proverbial for everything that was lying or mischievous. He is now calling on all who come in his way to repent and believe the gospel."

Of the remarkable man already alluded to, Asahel Nettleton, Dr. Wayland writes, —

"He was among the most effective preachers I have ever known. I never heard logic assume so attractive a form, or produce so decisive an effect. When reasoning on any of the great doctrines in Romans, for instance, election, the utter depravity of man, the necessity of regeneration, or the necessity of atonement, his manner was often Socratic. He would commence with what must be conceded by every one present; then, by a series of questions, each deliberately considered, and not suffered to pass away until the speaker and hearer gave the same answer, his opponents would find themselves face to face with an absurdity so glaring, that notwithstanding the solemnity of the scene, the hearer could hardly escape the disposition to laugh at himself, for holding a belief that appeared so utterly untenable.

"In other styles of address he was equally successful. The doom of the sinner, the danger of delay, the condition of the thoughtless, the vicious, and the blasphemer; the exercises of the soul from the first moments of conviction, the subterfuges of the human heart, and the final act of submission to God, were portrayed by him with a power of eloquence that I have rarely heard. I suppose no minister of his time was the means of so many conversions.

"He was in an unusual degree obedient to impressions received in answer to prayer. I believe he never went to a place, unless he had received an intimation that he had a duty to discharge there; and he rarely visited a place where a revival did not follow him. In conversing with persons under conviction, he exhibited a knowledge of human nature almost intuitive. Nor was it merely with awakened sinners that his preaching was remarkably successful. It was his habit (when he could stay long enough in a neighborhood) to collect the converts and explain to them the doctrines of the gospel, point out to them their danger, and then to build them up in the faith, before he left them.

"In preaching, his countenance beamed with a holy earnestness, such as befitted one sent directly from God as an ambassador to men. At this time he very rarely entered the pulpit, or preached in the daytime. He preferred a vestry or a school-house; and if he spoke in the body of the church, he addressed the audience from the deacons' seat, or the platform in front of the pulpit. His manner was quiet, especially at the commencement; his voice grave and deep-toned; his whole aspect was that of a man who had just come from intimate communion with God. He never used notes (although I believe he sometimes wrote out some of his sermons), and rarely employed ornament of any kind. He would stand up, throwing a red bandanna handkerchief over his left arm, and in tones varying but little from those of earnest conversation, would sway an audience as the trees of the forest are moved by a mighty wind.

"His manner of life was consistent with his appearance in the pulpit. His residence was generally with the minister of the parish in which he was laboring. The time not employed in preaching or conversation with inquirers, was devoted to secret prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. He was never seen in what is called general society. His whole time seemed devoted to labor for souls. He was unmarried, and, to avoid remark, he never rode or walked with a lady alone. He was wholly insensible to the influence of money. His dress was plain, and well worn. When money was offered him, he would either return it all, or would accept only what was wanted for his present necessity.

"Notwithstanding all this, I have rarely known a man who was, for a great part of the time, more thoroughly abused. It was generally admitted that his appearance in a town was the precursor of a revival. This fact aroused all the virulence of men at enmity with God. His mode of conducting meetings was somewhat peculiar, and his preaching singularly bold and uncompromising. Thus he greatly excited against him those professors of religion who did not like anything new in the mode of preaching. Hence, at first, good men would frequently turn aside from him, and too readily give heed to the slanders of wicked men. I knew very well a physician of eminence, a pleasant, kind man, though utterly destitute of religion, residing in a village where Mr. N. was laboring, who circulated a falsehood about him, retailing a conversation, which, he said, Mr. N. had had with him in his office, when the fact was, that Mr. N. had never been in his office; and it subsequently appeared that the doctor was wholly ignorant of his person. To such attacks Mr. N. never deigned to make a word of reply, nor did he ever intimate that he knew of their existence. He considered that a man's character is the best defence of his reputation, and he left it to time and to the providence of God to refute the slanders.

"A man so unique and so successful was of course blessed with many imitators. But they could much more easily imitate his peculiarities, than the spirit with which he spoke. Some of them preached a very different doctrine from that in which he gloried. Others failed entirely in moral character. The spirit of revivals declined, and this sort of preaching was made, I fear, a thing of gain. He became involved in controversy with some of the most eminent men in the Congregational church. These differences led to painful results, and it may, I fear, be said that the peculiar type of revival preaching which I remember at this time, rose and declined with this excellent man. I write this in part from general recollection, at the distance of a long intervening period. In some of the facts I may unintentionally have erred."

We need not fear to believe that Providence had wise and gracious designs in so ordering his circumstances that Mr. Wayland should be mingled with the scenes of this revival, and especially that he should form the acquaintance and enjoy the counsels of Mr. Nettleton. "I became intimately acquainted with Mr. Nettleton, and my conversations with him were of great use to me."

His spirit received a quickening impulse whose influence never ceased to be felt, and he gained lessons never to be forgotten in the mode of addressing men on religious subjects. He desired to be engaged directly in laboring for the salvation of men. He writes, —

"I had become somewhat familiar with most of the studies which I was called on to teach, and could devote some time to preparation for the ministry; to this kind of study I now gave all of the time which I could command. Having been licensed to preach by the church at Saratoga Springs, of which I had become a member, and of which my father was at this time (1820) pastor, I began to preach to feeble churches in the vicinity. For some time I supplied the little church at Burnt Hills, a village between Schenectady and Ballston. I began to make skeletons of sermons under the supervision of Dr. Nott. From him I learned all that I ever knew on that subject. He taught me how to make a sermon, by showing me the folly of the plans which I submitted to him, and by giving my mind the right direction in this kind of intellectual labor. His instruction was invaluable to me.

"My preaching was confined wholly to out-stations, and was at first entirely unwritten. Thinking it important not only to make the plan of a sermon, but to finish it completely, I began to write sermons. But it is scarcely possible to realize the labor which writing them cost me. I have been thought to write with more than common readiness. At first, however, it was intolerable labor. It took me weeks — I know not but I might say months — to write a discourse of moderate length. I wrote and rewrote, with endless care and anxiety. How men prepared two sermons a week I could not conceive. I saw, however, that they did it, and at last I settled down into the belief that I could do what I saw other men do, though I could not see how it was accomplished."

These early sermons are valuable chiefly as the comparison of them with those of subsequent years shows that he did not spring into life fully panoplied; that the power of thinking, of expressing, came to him, not by inspiration, but as the result of the most patient and unwearied labor. During the latter portion of his tutorship, he also instructed, in Hebrew, a number of candidates for the ministry, carrying them through a portion of Genesis.

To his brother: —

"You and I are poor. The only patrimony, for which we can hope, is our *pious parents' blessing*. The best fortune we can acquire is, a character above suspicion. By a rigid continuance in virtue, that character may be gained. By one act of infamy it may be lost, lost forever. The gate to infamy is constantly open. We may easily enter it. But to return, — ah, that is next to impossible. Suffer, then, my brother, the advice of one who, a few years ago, was treading the path in which you now are.

"Beware of your companions. I would not be *intimate with any one* who was not perfectly and rigidly virtuous. I had almost said I would be intimate with no one. You have your brother and sisters, and I would spend my leisure time with them. Thus your mind will be enlarged, your information extended, and your manners improved. The society into which they will introduce you will be honorable, and may be useful to you. The chance acquaintances whom you may pick up may be absolutely deleterious. They can do you no good. As you value your character, the character of your family, your future prospects, and your everlasting welfare, I conjure you, hold no intercourse with a vicious man. I speak on this subject from experience. I was once on the brink of ruin. I was intimate with a man of vicious habits, though of unusual mind, and of very entertaining conversation. Intercourse with him gradually diminished my sense of religious obligation, and was leading me on in a course which, if pursued, would have left me at this moment an abandoned and vicious man. Providence interrupted the intimacy, and I never think of it without shuddering at the near approach I made to a total overthrow of all my hopes. For I consider that the hopes of a vicious man are overthrown. Be found in no place of resort to which you would not be willing that I should accompany you. But especially be found nowhere where you would not be willing that God should find you. And find you he will. There is not a word on your lips but he hears. There is not a thought in your heart which he does not mark. There is not a place in which you have been, or in which you will be, where he is not around you on every side. And every deed, every word, and every thought, shall be found registered in that book which a day of judgment will unseal."

We quote further from the reminiscences bearing on this period.

"I had passed nearly four years as tutor in Union College; I was satisfied that I had remained there long enough, and was determined to resign when this year was completed. I suffered from ill health, for I had not learned the value and importance of systematic exercise. In what direction I should turn, I knew not. No prospect was before me. I thought of going to the west, but I was not in a pecuniary condition to travel far. I suffered much from the fear that no prospect of usefulness was open, or likely to open, before me. I was but little acquainted with Baptist ministers, having been for five years associated with men of other denominations. To go about and beg for a settlement seemed hardly what I was prepared to do. I had little experience in preaching, and no power of eloquence, or anything which would be likely to attract attention. It was to me a period of deep and distressing anxiety. I have never since, that I remember, suffered anything comparable to it."

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH IN BOSTON. — CALL. — ORDINATION. — PROSPECT. — DISCOURAGEMENTS. — DISCOURAGEMENTS OVERCOME. — CORRESPONDENCE.

MEANWHILE the First Baptist Church in Boston was destitute of a pastor. The church had enjoyed, under the eminent Dr. Stillman, a high degree of prosperity. "He was probably the most popular pulpit orator of his day. He was a universal favorite." To him and to his church was granted the singular honor of holding up the doctrines of the gospel, when the great body of churches of the standing order had either openly departed from the faith, or, while having the form of godliness, had denied the power of it. When any one became anxious about his soul, it was very commonly said to him, "O, you had better go down to Dr. Stillman's meeting. You will find what you want there." An eminent layman of one of the Congregational churches used to relate, that when a young man, having become aroused by the Spirit of God, and seeking advice suited to his condition, he was referred to Dr. Stillman's church; and at the time of meeting he would steal by retired streets, down to the North End, watching to see that he was not observed, and there would receive into his thirsty soul the words of everlasting life.

Dr. Stillman was succeeded by Rev. Joseph Clay, and he, by the Rev. J. M. Winchell, whose name was long retained in grateful remembrance by his admirable compilation of hymns, Winchell's Watts. Between the resignation of Mr. Clay and the settlement of Mr. Winchell, a period of more than five years, the church had no pastor; and during the latter part of Mr. Winchell's settlement, his failing health had greatly abridged his power of labor. The house of worship (situated on a narrow alley, that now, widened and improved, is called Stillman Street) was old, unsightly, and incommodious of access. It is scarcely matter of wonder that the church should have greatly declined in means, numbers, zeal, and unity. Truth, however, would seem to require the statement that their sense of the dignity and importance of the church was all that could be demanded by the most flattering circumstances. Their estimate of the qualities needed by any one who should assume the pastoral office among them, was correspondingly high. "They must have an able minister, a young man, a scholar. He must be eloquent, like Dr. Stillman, a logician, like Judge Clay. In their view, there was no man in the ministry quite equal to so eligible a place as the pastorship of the First Baptist Church of Boston. I have been told that there was some thought of sending for Andrew Fuller; but he was the main support of the Baptists of England, the Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society, and could not be spared from the church at Kittering." *

Mr. Wisner, who was now settled at the Old South Church, urged the deacons of the First Church to hear his friend Mr. Wayland. On the 8th of January, 1821, Deacon James Loring, church clerk, writes to Mr. Wayland, stating their destitute condition, and adding, "None of us have ever enjoyed the privilege of hearing your public improvements; but having received information respecting you as an acceptable preacher in our denomination, this church, at their monthly meeting, on the 5th instant, voted that their committee for the supply of the

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* Rev. Dr. Neale's Historical Discourse, from which, also, two sentences were quoted above, relative to Dr. Stillman.

pulpit be directed to request you, in the name of the church, to visit and preach with them eight or ten weeks, as might suit your convenience."

The invitation was accepted, and a promise made to visit Boston in the spring. To a letter of his father, suggested by these circumstances, Mr. Wayland replies, —

> ". . . Your remarks I have felt to be emphatically applicable to my case. It is my desire not to feel anxious or sanguine on the subject. I pray that God will enable me to submit this and all his dispensations wholly to his will, and that I may be prepared for every and any situation which he may assign me. I have had reason, very great reason, to be thankful for all the scenes, whether of trial or prosperity, but especially the former, through which I have been led. Should the Lord design to teach me humility by this visit, I pray that he may make me docile, and willing to learn the lesson. May it make me more to distrust myself, and lean with more unshaken confidence upon his guidance and direction. Should he favor me with prosperity, O that he may keep me humble, patient, meek, and lowly. And if he should place me in any station of responsibility, may he abundantly enrich me with every literary and intellectual qualification, but especially with the infinitely richer endowments of his Holy Spirit, that I may be sincere, wise, pure, holy, vigilant, and prayerful, and deeply impressed with the value of souls. In fine, whatever may be my lot in this world, may I live a life of holiness, and be received at last to the place where there is no more lukewarmness, but where they see as they are seen, and know as they are known. With respect to the course of ministerial study which you recommend, I am much of your opinion. I am of opinion that the Bible is the best book a minister can study; and the next best book is his own heart, and the hearts of his people: the one without the other will be ineffectual, or at least imperfect. These are the outlines of my ideas. I hope, if they are not correct, I may be instructed better from on high. Should I be located in Boston, there will be many things pleasant — its proximity to Andover — and its being the residence of Mr. Wisner, my old friend. But of this it is needless to talk; we are not to choose for ourselves. . . ."

In the spring vacation he went to Boston, taking with him his entire supply of sermons, eight in number. During this visit, Deacons Snow and Loring spent an evening in conversing with him upon his religious views. He says, —

> "I replied to their questions with entire frankness, and when I seemed to differ from them, gave such reasons for my opinion as occurred to me at the moment."

He regarded the course of these gentlemen in holding this interview as eminently judicious, as calculated to prevent misunderstanding, and to secure permanent coöperation. After he had preached four Sundays, and was about to return to Schenectady, it was proposed by some persons that he should visit them again.

> "This I declined to do, for they had had a full opportunity to hear and see me. If they did not like me now, they would not probably be changed in their opinion by any further acquaintance, while to return would place me before the public as seeking the situation. I spoke with entire simplicity, and with the distinct impression that by thus speaking I closed forever the prospect of a settlement with them."

During this visit to Boston, Mr. Wayland attended the trial of Judge Prescott, then under impeachment, and heard the speech of Mr. Webster. He says, "I lost, as I suppose, some reputation, if I had any to lose, by saying that I thought Mr. W. a less eloquent man than Dr. Nott." The incident is of little value, except as illustrating his uniform habit of making up his judgments for himself. He could not accept opinions and estimates at second hand. He had but little respect for traditional wisdom. "Every man must sail by his own compass" was an oft-repeated maxim with him.

A considerable portion of the church were in favor of Rev. Mr. E., a clergyman of popular and showy address. But there were a few persons who discerned the force of character, and the strength of mind and purpose, underlying an unattractive manner. The weight of their judgment and their personal influence carried a small majority. Mr. Wayland was called by a vote of fifteen to ten in the church, and seventeen to fifteen in the society.

"I knew," he says, "that the call was not unanimous (though I did not then know that the small majority had been procured with great effort). But Dr. Nott, whose advice I asked, treated this as a matter of no consequence, and insisted that those who opposed me, would soon, in all probability, become my best friends." *

A few days after forwarding to him the notice of the call, Deacon Loring wrote urging his acceptance, and adds, —

"President Messer, who was recently in town, observed, 'If Mr. Wayland is like me, he will not look at numbers, but weight.' On Tuesday I saw Professor Stuart. I told him I had the pleasure to say to him that our church and society had requested you to become our stated minister. 'I am glad,' said he, 'your church has so much good sense. Were you united?' 'Not so much as I could wish.' 'Did you unite your principal men?' This question is so much like Stuart. 'We did, sir.' Rev. Mr. Going, of Worcester, says, 'Tell Mr. Wayland, from me, that the cause of evangelical religion and literature amongst the Baptists and others says, Come to Boston.'

"P. S. Permit me to caution you against anonymous letters. The communications sent you on Tuesday are official, and such as you may place confidence in. In an anonymous letter you find no responsibility."

Professor Stuart writes to Mr. Wayland, —

"Deacon Loring, of Boston, has recently told me the circumstances of your invitation to Boston. He states (what I thought would be the case) that all the well-informed and weighty part of the church and society are

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* Dr. Wayland once said to Dr. Stow, "I don't think much of these unanimous calls. It looks as though people did not judge for themselves."

in your favor, while the other part would prefer a man who 'could preach by inspiration.' He made me promise that I would write you the result of my reflections on this subject, the first leisure time that I could find.

"On the whole, I am well satisfied that you are better fitted for 'Yankee soil' than any other. You may not cut a great figure here, with wide-spread branches, broad leaves, and profuse flowers; but what blossoms put forth will be succeeded by fruit, and that fruit will not fall prematurely, but yield a noble harvest. Your society in Boston is the best place in this country to begin the cure of the malady that reigns among your brethren on the subject of educating preachers. I am quite confident, that with prudence and good sense, you will win over the reluctant part of your congregation. Nothing is wanting but a little personal, kind attention, and to preach a few times without notes, so as to let them know that you can be inspired as well as your brethren. And then, the cause here absolutely and imperiously demands a man like you, who has depth of exegetical lore, who can meet the Unitarians on ground where he is not liable to feel his inferiority, or be put to the blush. Besides, Providence College must have such trustees, or it is ruined forever. Radical changes must be made in order to save it. You want more weight, more literature here, to do this.

"All things considered, I am clear that it is your duty to come, and that the opposition to you is of such a nature as can be neutralized by a very little prudent and kind attention, and extempore effort in the pulpit. And, by the way, I say without reserve, you should always extemporize one half the day in your own pulpit."

The call was accepted, and early in August he set out for Boston.

To his mother: —

". . . At sunset on Thursday I arrived in Boston. I never entered a place with quite such feelings. I had left my home. I had left that part of this earth, which, above every other, was endeared to me by a thousand associations. I was entering the place where I expected to spend the remainder of my life. The people were new to me. Their modes of living were in many respects dissimilar to my own. There were but one or two persons with whom I felt as though there was any thorough congeniality. But above all, I was going as an ambassador of Heaven. I could not but reflect on the words, 'This child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel.' Although in a very humble sense, yet I could not but reflect that in all human probability, if my life were spared, I should be the cause of the eternal salvation or damnation of many souls. The doctrines which I should preach, the behavior which I should exhibit, the whole course of my life, was to have henceforth a bearing upon eternity. Who was sufficient for these things? I certainly was not. I shuddered, and was ready to shrink from the burden which was to devolve upon me. I could only find consolation in looking to that Name which is above every name, renewedly dedicating myself to his service, and praying that he would make me faithful unto death, that at the end I may render up my account with joy, and not with grief."

On the 21st of August, 1821, he was ordained. The services were, — prayer by Rev. William Gammell; sermon by Rev. Dr. Sharp; ordaining prayer by Rev. F. Wayland, senior; charge by Rev. Dr. Baldwin; right hand of fellowship by Rev. Dr. Bolles; prayer by Rev. Joseph Grafton. The text of Dr. Sharp's discourse — "Now, if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear, for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do" — would seem to indicate that, in his opinion, trials awaited his young brother.

Turning for a moment from the publicity, the hurry, and the confusion of the ordination, let us look (if it be not too sacred a spot for intrusion) into the heart and the closet of the Christian woman who sees the fulfilment of many prayers in the piety and the opening usefulness of her son.

From his mother: —

"SARATOGA SPRINGS, August 29, 1821.

"My dear Son: Your highly acceptable letter, bearing date August 11, came to hand. I have read it over and over with tears of joy. I hope my gratitude and love were much increased to the Father of mercies for his goodness to you and faithfulness to me. Truly, God is good to Israel. He has heard my prayer. He has not despised the supplication of his handmaid. Surely the feelings of Hannah were mine, when she said, My soul doth magnify the Lord. I called for all within me and all without to join in praise. I looked around to see if I could find one confidential friend to whom I could say 'The Lord has done great things for me'(and I humbly hope for the church of God), whereof my soul is glad. Come and help me to adore before his throne. And will he open his eyes upon such a one as mortal man, and send him with the glad tidings of salvation to sinners? This is a subject in which I'm lost in wonder, love, and praise.

"The day of your ordination I kept with fasting and prayer, that the Lord would adorn you with all the graces of his Holy Spirit, that you might abound in every good word and work, that you might have many, very many, souls given you, that shall be to your everlasting joy in a coming day. Two things especially were on my mind — that is, that you might be clothed with humility as with a garment, and that your spirituality might appear to all. May these ever go before in all your preaching, and then your education and talents may follow to great advantage.

"The next subject of my prayer was the church over which the Lord has made you overseer, that they might be much blessed, comforted, and edified under your pastoral care. . . ."

On the following Sabbath, August 26, the new pastor preached two sermons from the words, "It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful." The subject, "the duties of the minister of Christ," is considered under three heads: 1. He must deliver to his people, without addition or retrenchment, the truths contained in this holy word. 2. He must deliver each distinct truth to those for whom his Master has designed it. 3. He must deliver the truth in such a manner as his Master has directed.

"He may not add to the word of God his own inferences nor the inferences of other men. . . . Again, he is forbidden to take anything from the word of God. Some pastors, from a spirit of timidity, seem to want to preach less than God has revealed. At one time a doctrine seems revealed in too unqualified a manner, and in their preaching they guard it by some temporizing paragraphs. At another, a statement seems not to agree with their preconceived notions, and they modify it to suit their opinions. God commands all men, everywhere, to repent. One dares not thus to call upon his fellow-sinners, lest they should imbibe false notions of human agency, or because he does not know that those whom he addresses are elected. Another will not preach the doctrine of divine sovereignty, lest men should abandon all concern for their salvation. But is he a faithful steward who thus mangles the word of God? Has infinite wisdom revealed more truth than it is prudent for man to know, and is it the business of the minister of Christ to becloud it?

" Again, the minister of Christ should preach the truths of the Scriptures in all their clearness and in all their obscurity. Some of the truths of the Bible are clearly revealed. . . . These truths, and others which we might mention, seem to us distinctly made known in the word of God, and the minister of Jesus Christ must clearly preach them, even though by so doing he incurs the enmity of some and the contempt of many.

" But it cannot be denied, that although the truths are revealed, yet frequently the manner of their existence and their relations to each other are not revealed. The fact God has declared, while its consistence with other facts he leaves in obscurity; and with all this obscurity must the minister of the gospel preach it.

" We find in the Scriptures that Jesus Christ is God, and again, that he is man. Do you ask how both can be true? I freely answer, I cannot now explain it. Perhaps I never shall be able to do so. Nor is it my business, nor that of any other minister. God has left it unexplained, and there I am bound to leave it. Again, God has clearly revealed the fact of his superintending control. All things that take place happen under his direction and by his control; yet man and all God's intelligent creatures act freely and voluntarily. Who can show the connection between these truths? What mortal eye has glanced along the chain of Jehovah's operations, and fixed upon the link which connects the decrees of God with the agency of man? Such are some of the obscurities connected with the truths of God's word, and with all this obscurity must the minister of Christ preach them.

"Here it may be asked, Is not God consistent with himself? and if we find one doctrine clearly revealed, and find another which we cannot reconcile with it, is it not evident that the one or the other must be taken with some limitations, and in our preaching, are we not bound to limit it? We answer, God is doubtless consistent with himself, but he has never appointed us judges of his consistency; and until he shall thus appoint us, it were certainly modest in us to decline the office. We answer, again, If two such doctrines occur, — and they may doubtless occur, — the duty of the minister is to preach them both, fully and clearly, as they are revealed in the Scriptures. He has nothing to do with their consistency. If his hearers object on this account, the controversy is between God and their own souls, and there must the minister of Christ leave it."

Usually it is but scanty praise to say of a man that he has not in any degree changed his views during all his lifetime. It is to say that he is no wiser to-day than he was many years ago. And Dr. Wayland would have been the first to declare, that with maturer years his views on many subjects were greatly modified. But the opinions expressed in the paragraphs just quoted he ever adhered to. He had no hesitation in exhibiting the plain teachings of a passage of Scripture, even when they seemed inconsistent with some other truth which he equally believed. Perhaps there could not be a more marked example of this freedom than was exhibited in a sermon preached in the University Chapel, on the college fast day, February, 1852, from the text, "But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, and praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God." In this sermon he shows from the tenor of the command in the text, and from similar passages, that there was a liability that those now "in the love of God" should be found out of it. After a full exhibition of this truth he adds, —

"But I seem to hear many of you exclaim, What, then, is to become of the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints? What does Christ mean when he says, 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father, who gave them me, is greater than all, and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.' You will say to me, What are we to do with such passages? I ask, Are they found in the word of God? Undoubtedly. Then believe them implicitly. They are the words of unchangeable, eternal truth. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but not one word God has ever spoken shall pass away. But are not the other passages which I quoted also found in the word of God? Undoubtedly. And are not they also to be implicitly believed? Are we not with equal authority called upon to believe them both?

"But you will say, How are these to be reconciled? I might say, I do not know; but is this any reason why you should refuse to believe what God has revealed? Dare I, on this ground, refuse to set before you any portion of his holy oracles? Whatever systems, and the makers of systems, and the believers in the makers of systems may say, I must set before you the truth as I find it. Again, I may say, Though I cannot explain this mystery, yet I think I may promise to explain it as soon as you will explain to me how the infinite and the finite unite in any case of human action, or how the sovereignty of God is theoretically reconciled with the free agency and accountability of man. These doctrines all belong to the same class, and to finite minds, like ours, they are hidden in impenetrable obscurity."

The Bibliotheca Sacra for April, 1861, contained an article by the venerable and learned Rev. Dr. Withington, in which a reply is offered to these questions: 1. Why am I a Christian? 2. Why am I a Calvinist? 3. Why am I a moderate Calvinist? Under the last head he says, —

"But you may ask, What is moderate Calvinism? Now, moderate Calvinism consists not in denying any one of the great doctrines, but in mixing these with other truths, equally obvious and equally important. A moderate Calvinist knows the magnitude of these speculations, and the weakness of our moral powers, and therefore he does not make all the deductions from such high declarations which a rigid logic would seem to demand. . . . God is sovereign, man is free. God sees no contingency, man meets scarcely anything else. Now, I must mingle these truths just as they are mingled in the Bible, and I have no right to make the one weaker than the other. I must leave the compound with all its perplexities and *divine* contradictions."

Upon reading this article, Dr. Wayland wrote to Dr. Withington, July 9, 1861, —

"I have lately read your confession of faith in the Bibliotheca Sacra. It is rare (I do not know when it has occurred before) that I have seen my own opinions on these subjects so clearly expressed. As you say, I can discover no point of what I suppose to be Calvinism which is not abundantly taught by Paul. And yet I am a moderate Calvinist. The sharp angles of Calvinism, which needed to be filed and hammered out in order to make a system, I desire to hold no opinion about. It seems to me that the fault of all theological systems arises from logical sequences drawn from some revealed truth. Now, for this kind of logic I have no sort of respect. Human ideas are the proper materials for the processes of logic. A human idea I can comprehend. I can know all about it, and therefore it is a legitimate subject for my limited powers. I know what is meant by a triangle. I can know all about it. I can therefore reason about it with confidence in my conclusions. The ideas of revelation are not human, but divine ideas, the conceptions of the infinite God. It seems to me that they are not proper subjects for human logic, and therefore, by applying reasoning to them, we are led into absurdity. Take the two opposite ideas, the free agency of man and the sovereignty of God; how many men have logically reasoned themselves into absurdity on one or the other of these subjects! Now, when we take acknowledged truth, and, upon either side, reason ourselves into absurdity, it is evident to me that we have passed the bounds set for human reason. I do not know whether I make myself intelligible, but I have done the best I could in such weather as this.

"Now, it seems to me, that the points in which such persons as you and I differ from the out-and-out Calvinists, are precisely those in which they have gone beyond the revealed truth, and inferred from it, logically perhaps, conclusions where we dare not conclude. I stand to whatever God has said; what men infer from it is merely human, and weighs with me just nothing. As a Christian, I think I can, in my poor way, defend what God has said; what man has inferred from it, man may defend if he can; I am not responsible.

"Do not feel obliged to answer this letter, unless it is, in all respects, convenient. I wanted to tell you how much I was pleased with your paper, and I will add, how much I am interested in all you have written."

And now the period of preparation is ended, and the work of life is begun.

On the day preceding his ordination, Mrs. Judson had embarked at Rangoon for Calcutta on her way to America. The Burman mission, reënforced, a year or two previously, by the arrival of Wheelock and Colman, had been bereaved by the death of the one and the rapidly declining health of the other. Dr. Judson, who four years earlier had heard the first acknowledgment of an eternal God from the lips of a Burman, was laboring alone at Rangoon. The missionary enterprise was regarded by men at large with coldness or with contempt, and even by the disciples of Christ, with that lethargic interest which wrung from Dr. Judson the cry, "O that all the members of the Baptist Convention could live at Rangoon one month! Will the Christian world ever awake? Will means ever be used adequate to the necessities of the heathen world? O Lord, send help! Our waiting eyes are unto thee." * The Triennial Convention was becom-

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* During ten months, from July, 1820, to April, 1821, the missionary contributions to the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, as acknowledged in the Magazine (exclusive of income from investments), were $4383. A few years later, a committee appointed "on the means of reviving the missionary spirit among

ing entangled in the hopeless embarrassments of Columbian College. George D. Boardman was just entering on his last year at Waterville College, which had been established the year previous.

Newton Theological Institution did not exist even in the hopes or the imagination of Deacon Farwell or of Mr. Cobb; and Brown University seemed, to the anxious friends of evangelical piety, tending towards the course of its older sister at Cambridge.

Jonathan Going was preaching in Worcester, and the Home Mission Society was unknown; but John Leland and other apostolic men had gone forth into the Genesee country and into Virginia, gathering in the lost sheep of the house of Israel. A year or two previous Leland had written, "I have travelled distances sufficient nearly to go around the globe three times; I have preached not far from eight thousand sermons; I have baptized one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight." The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society was sending its laborers into Maine and Vermont, New York and Pennsylvania. There was no "Massachusetts State Convention" for the aid of feeble churches, but every Saturday afternoon Mr. Ensign Lincoln left his bookstore in Cornhill, entered his chaise and drove to Canton or Hingham to nourish some infant church, or to strengthen the things that were ready to die.

Throughout Massachusetts, Unitarianism held predominant influence. While Harvard University imbued the best intellect and the highest culture of the state with animosity to evangelical piety, the decision of Chief Justice

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the Baptist denomination in New England," estimated that if the executive seat of the Board was located in Boston, and if public confidence was restored, "we believe that $600 could be collected from the three Baptist churches in Boston; $200 from Salem; $100 from Cambridgeport; and $50 each from Charlestown, Reading, Haverhill, Methuen, Roxbury, Beverly, Danvers, Middleboro', Pawtucket, and Providence, besides $100 at least from the Worcester and from the Old Colony Associations."

Parker threw all church property into the hands of the *society*, to the annihilation of the rights of the spiritual body, leaving many of the Orthodox churches houseless.

In the metropolis of New England these tendencies were intensified. In a city of from forty to forty-five thousand inhabitants, only two Congregational pulpits, the Park Street and Old South, uttered the doctrines of the Reformation. Dr. Baldwin was preaching in the Second Baptist Church, and Dr. Sharp, then in the prime of his powers, at Charles Street. There were also three Episcopal and two Methodist churches. But the wealth, the social influence, the cultured intellect, and the political power of the city were found each Sabbath in Brattle Street, where the echoes of Buckminister and Everett seemed to linger, and where now was heard the scholarly Palfrey, or they were gathered to listen to Dr. Frothingham in Chauncy Place, or to Dr. Lowell at the West Church, or joined in reciting the ritual of King's Chapel, or yielded themselves to the spell of Channing's glowing eloquence and generous sentiments.

Only a few plain people found their way down to hear the awkward young stranger, just settled at the North End. No crowd thronged the long plank walk that led from the street back to the old and unattractive wooden meeting-house, nor did any benches obstruct the aisles, as Mr. Winslow, the sexton, with the dignity of a beadle, gravely preceded the minister, and ushered him into the desk. Nor was the new minister a man calculated speedily to draw a crowded house, and impart popularity to a waning interest. His manner in the pulpit was unattractive; he was tall, lean, angular, ungraceful, spoke with but little action, rarely withdrawing his hands from his pockets save to turn a leaf, his eye seldom meeting the sympathetic eye of the auditor. To those who conversed with him, he appeared abstracted and embarrassed. The work of composition was laborious, and, with his habits of study, consumed so much time as to leave him little leisure to win, by personal intercourse, the affections of the people. They, perhaps, compared him unfavorably with one of his predecessors, who sometimes wrote his afternoon sermon during the intermission on Sunday noon, and naturally could afford to be at ease, and to give much time to social demands.

The minority were determined to make up in activity and persistence what they lacked in numbers. Anonymous letters had been written to a former pastor, of unusually sensitive spirit, with much success. He had taken them into the pulpit and read them in public, showing to the writers how deeply their shots had taken effect. Similar letters now began to reach Mr. Wayland, ridiculing his awkwardness, and enlarging on every fault he had, and on many that he had not. Meanwhile, Rev. Mr. E., the choice of the minority, had been settled in an adjoining town; and his partial friends, refusing to sit under the preaching of Mr. Wayland, would toil out three or four miles to hear their favorite, and then would come into the evening meeting and narrate how they had been blessed, and how glad that good man was to see them, and how he hoped they would come again.

They were anxious, too, that Mr. E. should preach in the pulpit of the First Church, on an exchange with the pastor. But against this the leading members of the church, especially the pastor's official advisers, the deacons, protested. To allow him in the pulpit would encourage the disaffected, and would result in unsettling Mr. Wayland.

It was well for the young pastor that he had not only learned meekness of the Lord Jesus, but had gained worldly wisdom, and knowledge of human nature, under the sage Dr. Nott. Mr. Wayland, from the beginning, steadily refused to be informed who in the congregation were friendly to him, and who were unfriendly. He would not have any obstacle put in the way of his treating all with perfect and impartial friendliness. The anonymous letters, as fast as received, were spread before the Lord, in his closet, and then put in the fire. They were never spoken of, save as in after months the writers came to him, and, with tears of shame and sorrow, confessed their authorship, and begged forgiveness.

The course of the disaffected members in leaving their own church for another, was regarded by many as a violation of the covenant, and was animadverted on in church meeting. It was urged that the offending members should be subjected to discipline. This suggestion the pastor utterly opposed. He was not at all surprised that they did not like his preaching. He was sure he did not like it himself; and he regarded it as their duty to go where they found themselves most edified. As the distance to their favorite sanctuary was considerable, and as many of them were poor, he thought that the church ought to supply them with carriages; and he offered to unite in subscribing to procure them. There was no further complaint on that ground, and the practice ceased.

As for the brother's preaching in the pulpit, the pastor, for the only time in all his ministry, set himself in absolute opposition to the deacons and to all his counsellors. If his relation to the church was of so precarious a tenure as to be affected by the fact of Mr. E.'s preaching in his pulpit, the sooner it was terminated the better. Mr. E. was invited to preach. For some reason he preferred to preach at the Wednesday evening service. Notice was given alike from the pulpit and in the daily papers; the service was removed to the upper part of the meeting-house; the evening came; the pastor occupied the desk with him, and shared in the services. But the people did not come; the audience was small; and the dreaded minister, who depended for his inspiration upon a crowded and sympathizing audience, was greatly straitened. Nothing more was said on the subject, nor was any desire expressed for a repetition of the act of courtesy.

One young man, a member of the church, came to see the pastor, and frankly said to him, "I don't know how it is, but I am not interested in your preaching. I have no doubt it is deep, but I don't understand it, and I do not feel edified by it." Mr. Wayland said to him, "My dear brother, you have done right in coming to me; you have acted a Christian part. I feel that it is my duty to preach the gospel. I studied medicine, and began to practise; but God said to me, 'Wayland, you must preach the gospel.' I came here because God seemed to call me here. But I do not blame you for not liking my preaching, or for not being edified by it. I hope you will go where you find yourself most blessed. I shall not be offended. Go to hear Dr. Baldwin, or brother Sharp; they are both good men." By this time both the pastor and the dissatisfied brother were in tears. The latter henceforth found Mr. Wayland the clearest and most edifying preacher he had ever heard.

In time the pastor learned that one of the minority, an honest and worthy tradesman, was embarrassed in business. He called to see him. The brother opened his heart and his business, and said, "I could go on if it were not for what I owe Mr. John B. Jones" (a wealthy merchant, afterwards of the firm of Jones, Lows, and Ball). Mr. Wayland at once called to see Mr. Jones, and asked him to accommodate the person in question with more time. Mr. Jones readily promised to let him have all the time he wished, and to sell him more goods if he desired. He was saved from failure by this timely interposition, and became a prosperous and benevolent man of business.

Thus by personal kindness, by a regard to the precept, "Cherish the hearts that hate thee," by obedience to the diviner wisdom of the Sermon on the Mount, and of the twelfth chapter of Romans, he gained the affections of all.* Meanwhile he was growing in confidence and ease of address, alike in public and in private. As he became better acquainted with his people, his sermons naturally were more in sympathy with their circumstances of estate and feeling. In his week-day evening lecture, he adopted a freer and unwritten style of address, and found it in time the pleasantest service of the week. And the evident sincerity of all his words, his avoidance of formal and empty utterances, his deep but unparaded piety, his conscientiousness, his elevated manhood, — all these could not but be seen and felt. The few who would not be won over, went elsewhere, and those who remained, as well as those who were added, found themselves undergoing a process of education, and learned to follow with delight and with profit his consecutive trains of thought, his clear processes of reasoning, his close analysis, his profound meaning, and intense spirituality. "They became Waylandites; not because of any peculiar doctrine taught by him," † but because of the influence which his modes of thought exerted in moulding their mental and spiritual character.

Rev. Dr. Sharp to Rev. F. Wayland, Sr.: —

"My dear and respected Brother: I often reflect with much pleasure on the interview I recently enjoyed with you in Boston. The interesting event which brought you here awakened sympathies which I still love to cherish.

"Your worthy son came here under very peculiar circumstances: a previous attachment to another minister, and a little self-will withal, occasioned a larger minority in the church than was agreeable. But I believe they were in such a situation that they would not have been entirely united on any man. I have never had any conversation with any of the minority except one, and when I saw him he expressed much satisfaction with the preaching of his pastor. I believe that is the case with some others. My own opinion has always been, that if he stays with them seven years, they will like him seven times better than they do now.

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* Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., says, "A characteristic remark of his in the first year of our acquaintance became afterwards one of my governing maxims. I was expressing a determination to cut loose from the acquaintance of some one who had disobliged me, when he sharply responded, 'Anderson, never make an enemy!'"

† Rev. Dr. Pattison's Discourse.

"It is very much the case at the present day, and perhaps it always has been, that the generality of people are more pleased with sound than sense. Your son has a very respectable share of the latter, and I trust he will have sufficient of the former to please his people. Alas! what false estimates men make of real worth! I remember my old minister in England once inquired of a plain, simple countryman, how his minister got along. 'O,' said he, 'he improves wonderfully; he speaks louder and louder.'"

Mr. Wayland to a younger brother, who was employed as a clerk: —

"I fear lest you should think I neglect you, which I certainly would not do. I feel the deepest concern for your welfare, temporal and eternal, and I assure you I would do every thing to promote it. Nothing would so much delight me as to hear of your success in business, and especially of your soul's prosperity. But I have been very much hurried since I have been here, and have had time scarcely to write to anybody. You people who have so much leisure time, who have only to sell your goods and buy others, and post your accounts, can form but little idea of the toils, the labors, and the anxieties of a man who has every week to make a fresh mental exertion, which must be brought before the public. Especially is this labor oppressive in the case of a minister who enters a new situation. He has friends to make, acquaintances to form, difficulties to surmount, which men in private situations know nothing of. I hope, my brother, you continue in the practice of virtue and rectitude. Beware of your companions. Beware of the first approaches to temptation. Let your eye, 'e'en fixed on vacant space, beam keen with honor.' Lay down for yourself the loftiest principles of mercantile integrity, even those prescribed in the word of God, and resolve never to swerve from them. No matter how frequent the opportunities, no matter how urgent the temptation, be always yourself. And in disposing of goods act on the same principles. Do recollect how base it is, for the sake of a sixpence, to defile your mouth with a lie. Do recollect how awful it is, to gain the favor of an employer, by forfeiting the favor of the infinite Jehovah. I know there are little-minded men who have always at hand a set of cool arguments, by which they endeavor to justify iniquitous dealing. If they charge a man who is ignorant of an article twice as much as it is worth, they cover it by saying, they did not oblige him to take it. If they sell a man an article not worth carrying home, they will tell you that every man must look out for himself; and a thousand such falsehoods. How despicable is all this trumpery! How weak, as well as how wicked! O, how sublimely does the maxim of our Savior tower above all this! — 'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' My brother, if you wish to sleep soundly at night, if you wish to enjoy a high reputation, if you wish to please your God, make this your motto. Do you say that this will not allow you to get rich? I do not believe it. I believe honesty will at last be found the best policy. But if not, if you cannot grow rich thus, what then? Who cares? Who would barter away his character for gold? If he did, O, how unspeakably contemptible would be his exchange! I should esteem it a high honor to have it said of any of my relations, He was poor because he could not honestly become rich. And above all, what shall a man gain if he acquire the whole world and lose his own soul? O, how unspeakably awful would be the reflection in eternity, that a man had offended his Maker, had treasured up for himself wrath for the sake of riches, which take to themselves wings and fly away!"

To Mr. Alonzo Potter: —

"November 19, 1821.

"How wise and benevolent, my brother, are the arrangements of Providence! In nothing do I admire them more than in the facility with which the mind adapts itself to change of circumstances. I should have hardly believed it possible that I could so soon have entered into all the duties and feelings of my new calling. I feel now all my soul concentrated in the First Church, Boston. It is to me a little world. I scarcely care about anybody else's folks or anybody else's world. I scarcely care about influence, or popularity, or anything out of it. If I can only see them rise steadily in the tone of their piety, and bring religion more thoroughly out into all their conduct, so that their light may shine, so that they may be as the mountains of Zion where the Lord commanded his blessing, I want nothing more. My salary is, so long as I am unmarried, abundant. It is paid punctually as the town clock, every month. The people are becoming united, if I am not much misinformed. The attention on Sabbath is uniformly good; and I believe that they are not very much elated with the idea of anybody else going into the pulpit. I ought to be thankful to God. I hope that I am. Three have joined the church since I came. Several will, I think, shortly. The congregation is somewhat increased, and I think in some instances a decided moral effect has been produced. It is certainly a cause for great gratitude. I would not change my people for any people in Boston. I have but very little visiting and tea-drinking to do. I know I have more time to read than most ministers in the place. I can, if in good health, write my two sermons without difficulty. My health is generally good. If a man has a grateful heart, what more can he want? My deacons and their families would do anything for me.

"I wish, my dear Potter, that you were settled here. But I suppose it will never be. Do you ever go to Troy? If you can find out anything about my brother J., do let me know of it. My heart is bound up in that fellow. When you can without inconvenience, just look upon him."

To the same: —

"December 3, 1821.

". . . From lively to severe. — I rejoice, my brother, that you contemplate so soon taking upon you your vows. You will never repent of it. Should Providence open to you a way of usefulness where you are, I have not a word to say. Do what seems best, what seems most for the interest of the church; do as you think you will be most useful. But, allow me to say, Providence has gifted you with talents for public life, a head to plan and a hand to execute, which in such a situation would be lost. You ought, *me judice*, to be in the ministry. Would God that you were here! About your health I do not think that you need to be concerned. I am — I say it deliberately — in better health than when in S. I have better spirits. I walk every morning an hour before breakfast, and unless some bad weather or a cold interrupts, have clear mental vision generally. I have almost every week written two sermons. I have not studied much, it is true. I have, however, done something, and hope to do more. I really think that you would enjoy better health in the ministry than you do at present. If you will come and live under my eye, I will warrant you."

To his sister, Mrs. S.: —

"O, my dear sister, I wish you were here. I wish you were my hearer. You cannot tell how much I want two such hearers as you and Mr. S. It would be worth half my salary. I have no one on whose judgment I can so safely rely; and then I dare not ask my people freely or frequently, for fear of appearing vain to them, or really becoming vain. My society is rather prospering, I hope. They pay good attention to preaching — very rarely get asleep. I do not know that I have seen one asleep for some months; and they very rarely look at the clock when I preach longer. The most pious and intelligent are my best friends, and, I believe, think themselves profited by what they hear. There have been a few instances of awakening. One young woman — I mention it as a somewhat singular case — was awakened a few weeks since by a sermon from the text, "Let us go on unto perfection." It was remarkable that a sermon addressed wholly to Christians should be the means of awakening a sinner. It is somewhat laborious to preach twice a week; but, alas! it is much more difficult to practise habitually the principles of the gospel than to exhibit them. That is, after all, the most important part of a minister's duty — to live near to God, and keep eternity always in view. O that I had the spirit of Henry Martyn, of Samuel Pearce, and of the apostle Paul! But God can give it to me. Sometimes I think I feel a little of it; but a deceitful heart soon leads me astray. Let us, my dear, go on unto perfection. . . ."

To his brother: —

" . . . I want very much to hear about you and your business. I hope you are pleased with your situation. The happiness of situation does not depend upon external circumstances. I could be, I think, perfectly suited in your place, if it seemed my duty to occupy it. If it kept me busy, employment would be occupation; if it gave me leisure, I would occupy the time in profitable reading. A man with a well-furnished mind never need be unhappy, unless from moral causes. There is a pleasure in acquiring knowledge. There is a pleasure in reflecting upon what we have learned. There is a pleasure in communicating it to others. If you want to be a man of influence in society, you must have information, real, solid information. You must be able to hold a conversation with men of sense. You must know something more than the contents of novels. A man never grew strong, by feeding on whipped syllabub. He must read works of sense, and he must reflect on what he reads. He must learn to have a respect for himself. He must feel that he is able to form an opinion for himself, and that that opinion is not worthless. Look about you, my brother, and survey the men — especially the young men — by whom you are surrounded. They can dress. They can discuss the merits of an oyster supper, or a glass of beer, or the looks of an actor or an actress, or the dress of the guests at a party, or perhaps the price of a piece of goods. If they are not cut off, they float useless through the world; they lie down forgotten in the grave, having produced no more impression on the world than the horses they have driven, and they rise in another world to ever lasting contempt.

'Ye dreamers of gay dreams,
How will ye weather an eternal night
When such expedients fail?'

And are you contented to be such a man? Are you willing to grovel with such grub-worms? O, flee from them. *Look upward.* Think that you are designed for eternity. Cast behind your back all their allurements, and be yourself. Assert the dignity of man. Improve yourself, and place your name among those of the men who have not lived in vain."

To Mr. Potter, upon receiving news of his engagement to the accomplished daughter of Dr. Nott: —

"May 24, 1822.

"My dear Potter: You can conceive better than I can describe the emotions with which I read your most welcome letter. Though the intelligence it contained was scarcely unexpected, yet it sent a thrill through me, which vibrated in every fibre. It affected so nearly two persons for whom I felt so deep an interest, that, stoic as I am, I could not sit still for half an hour. When the rush of feelings had begun to subside, so that the several individual ones were taking each its proper locality, the first which I recognized was most fervent and hearty thanks to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, for the blessing which he had conferred upon you. To him I rendered my feeble tribute of gratitude, that two persons whom I most tenderly loved were made happy for life. You are worthy of each other. In the affections of such a woman, my brother, you have a treasure for which you might well barter away the mines of Golconda or the honors of an empire. I bless God she is yours. But recollect, my brother, *Deus hæc otia fecit.* I need not add, *Sit ille tibi semper Deus.* May this renewed expression of his kind providence bind you still more strongly to love and serve him. O, let not the richest gifts of his providence withdraw you from the Giver. The longer we live, the more shall we be convinced that nothing will make this life happy or death triumphant, but a consciousness that we are living for God. This alone bestows any dignity on the little transitory scene which surrounds us, and makes every action big with consequences of infinite happiness.

"There are a thousand reasons why I want you here.

I always knew your intellectual endowments were more numerous and more excellent than mine. But I thought that in those points where I was best endowed, we had great community of views and of feelings. You are one of the few men whom I have found in my pilgrimage, whom, in all the length and breadth of the term, I could call my friend. It would have been delightful to have had you here: it would have been improving to me. But what is the use of talking? Providence has otherwise ordered it, and he knows exactly what is best. There I leave it. May God grant you grace to be a faithful and successful minister of the New Testament. I long to hear you preach."

To his mother: —

". . . And first, as my father wrote respecting my health, I assure you my health is better than it was last summer at this time. It has been in general better during the year than during the last year I was at Schenectady; and I also assure you that, should my health require it, I will visit you this summer. I hardly think that otherwise it will be my duty. Still I do not speak with certainty. A very little may alter my determination. You think I am a bad economist. I in part plead guilty. I, however, am improving. Certainly you could desire no stronger proof of the power of my economical principles than their keeping me here when I wish so much to see you. To-day we received one — a very hopeful convert — by baptism. Last communion we received two. I hope on the next we shall receive three or four more. These are, it is true, few; but we have reason to be thankful for any, and I think we have reason to bless God that those who have been received have been so promising. I could not wish them different in character or appearance. May the Lord multiply the number abundantly. We have some who are still inquiring. I hope the spiritual state of the churches is improving. There is an increase of a spirit of prayer and brotherly love.

"As it regards myself, I daily see myself more as an unprofitable and useless servant. If I am at all favored by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, I grow careless, and have to measure back my way with sorrow and mourn-ing. If I am favored with success in my literary pursuits or ministerial labors, I grow proud; and then I am obliged to be brought down by disappointment and trial. Still I hope the year I have spent here has not been wholly useless to me in a religious view. I hope I have seen more of my own heart, and something more of the excellency of holiness, and have had some desires awakened, to be made perfect in the image of God. . . ."

To Mr. Potter: —

"December 15, 1822.

"You may possibly have heard that I came within a fraction of seeing Schenectady, the canal, and the hill folks this autumn. I started on horseback, — by the way, I am quite an accomplished equestrian, — and had progressed more than half way, when a variety of unforeseen accidents — among them the laming of a horse (a valuable and a borrowed one) — made it necessary that I should return. I had with me, also, a companion whose health I thought might require it. I shall not attempt to inform you — for it would be a failure — how I revelled in all the luxury of anticipation, in the thought of spending twenty-four hours on the hill. I saw Maria,* and talked with her fifty times. I sat up with Dr. N. in his study until midnight, was rallied out of countenance by Mrs. Nott, held a meeting of the triumvirate with you and Joe, and talked and reasoned until my brain was almost crazed. O, it was nothing but imagination picturing forth the forms of things unknown, which may never have a 'local habitation and a name.' I am still two hundred miles from most that I love. The Connecticut rolls its dark wave, and the Green Mountains lift their cloud-capped summits between us. Still we are watched over by the same Providence; and, what is more than all, hope we are interested in the same blood of the atonement. We may all taste of the same promise, and anticipate the hour when, freed from these bodies of sin and death, we shall stand around the throne triumphant. I want very much to see the doctor. There are fifty questions which I desire to ask him. There are as many measures with reference to the church in these parts, and to the Baptist church in particular, that I want to propose. His last letter was worth its weight thrice told in the gold of Ophir. If it were not for plaguing him, I would write often. I received a letter from John a few days since. He is going to enter the ministry. I have good reason to hope that he is a thorough Christian. I know not where to send him to prepare for college."

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* The daughter of Dr. Nott, afterwards the wife of Bishop Potter

CHAPTER VI.

DR. BALDWIN. — DR. SHARP. — DEACON SNOW. — DEACON LORING. — MR. WINSLOW. — CORRESPONDENCE. — HIS MENTAL HABITS. — CHARACTER OF HIS PREACHING.

DR. WAYLAND always remembered with affection and gratitude the brethren of the laity, and of the ministry with whom he was associated in Boston. He was a young man, a stranger, unaccustomed to the usages of New England, and not greatly versed in intercourse with the world. He always attributed much of whatever success attended him to the sagacious common sense and the judicious counsel of these brethren, and ascribed much of his happiness to their kind and fraternal coöperation.

First among these it is proper to name the honored Thomas Baldwin. Of him Dr. Wayland writes, —

> "He was a man of strong native mind, and great sweetness of disposition, and, at the time of which I speak, was, I think, more universally respected than any other clergyman in the city. His appearance was remarkably venerable, his address courteous and winning; he was the oldest minister in town, and every clergyman, of whatever denomination, took pleasure in doing him reverence. The precise place which he occupied in Boston I have never seen filled since his decease. He was always known as a wise counsellor, perfectly honest, always inclining to peace, yet never sacrificing principle."

One circumstance brought Mr. Wayland into peculiarly intimate relations to this excellent man and to his family. Upon reaching Boston at the time of his settlement, it was a matter of no little difficulty to select a boarding-place. To reside with one of the majority would throw obstacles in the way of conciliating those who had hitherto opposed him, and of uniting the church, while to be so closely associated with those who avowedly disliked him and his preaching would be sufficiently unpleasant to all parties. Nor could the fact that he was a young man and unmarried be ignored in his selection of a home. The neutral ground of Dr. Baldwin's house presented a sanctuary from the strife of tongues; and this was his abode for the first eighteen months of his residence in Boston. In the obituary notice of Dr. B. in the Baptist Magazine, February, 1826, Mr. Wayland says, —

> "The writer of this feeble attempt to delineate his character was for four years in the habit of seeing him daily, on terms of the most familiar intercourse, and for nearly half of this time was a member of his family, and remarked his deportment under every variety of circumstances; and he can truly say, that he does not recollect ever to have seen him betray a temper inconsistent with the Christian profession."

Of another associate in the ministry, Dr. Wayland says, —

> "Dr. Sharp was several years younger. He was of natural strong sense, great simplicity of character, uncompromising love of truth, and unspotted purity of life. To both of these brethren I was greatly indebted for their uniform kindness and courtesy. Never do I remember that a harsh word, or even an unkind look, marred the pleasure of our intercourse. We made it an object to unite our churches in the bonds of Christian affection. For this purpose we had, as far as possible, services together, which were always well attended. Dr. Baldwin was in the habit of being present at my preparatory lecture, and I reciprocated the courtesy. On one Sabbath evening in each month we had a union lecture for the three churches, held with each in succession, each minister preaching in his own meeting-house. Our monthly concerts were, in like manner, united; and it was the duty of the pastor, in whose church the meeting was held, to prepare the intelligence which had been received for the last month from all portions of the missionary world."

Of his lay brethren he writes, —

"I was forewarned by various persons that the church was governed by the deacons, and that their government partook of the nature of a despotism. My friends sincerely pitied me when they learned that I was to be subjected to the rule of men who had controlled the church for twenty years. Never were predictions more falsified. I do not remember that an unkind word ever passed the lips of either of us in conversation with each other. They were honest but thoroughly kind advisers, and were throughout my most intimate and esteemed friends.

"Deacon Prince Snow, a grocer at the North End, was a man of incorruptible integrity, sound-minded and consistent piety, and strong attachment to the doctrines of the gospel. The First Baptist Church was the object of his unwavering and enthusiastic love. Whatever affected its prosperity touched him to the quick. By its prosperity, I do not mean fine buildings or worldly adornments, but its growth in grace, and its faultless adherence to the teachings of the Lord Jesus. During a year of extraordinary and sudden pressure, Deacon Snow was unable to meet his payments. He took counsel with his friends, and, in accordance with their advice, made an assignment of all his property to his creditors. The church at once took action in the premises, and appointed a committee to examine his affairs. After a thorough examination, they reported that there had been nothing unfavorable to his Christian character. In the end, his property paid every creditor, principal and interest, with all the expenses of the assignment, and left a thousand dollars remaining. This is the only failure of this kind that I have ever known.

"Deacon James Loring was quite a remarkable man. He was a printer and bookseller. A close observer of human nature, of great accuracy of judgment, possessing entire control of his feelings, and when once his mind was made up, of unwavering consistency of purpose, he was one to whom, in time of doubt and trial, men instinctively turned. He seemed made for a deacon. Always in his place at all the meetings, his voice was heard on every proper occasion in prayer and conference. He did not speak because it was expected, and evening after evening repeat the same address, but he always presented some one of the distinguishing doctrines of the New Testament, and brought it home to his present hearers. He never spoke unless he had something to say, and he always stopped when he had done. His piety, whether in prosperity or in adversity, was ever the same. He habitually referred everything to God, and seemed pleased with all that occurred, because God had ordered it.

"His reading was extensive, his mind clear and discriminating. He frequently wrote for the public papers, and always with ability. As is often the case with printers, though unacquainted with the rules of grammar, he wrote with entire grammatical accuracy. In company with the late Mr. Weston, he established the Christian Watchman. Whenever the deacons of the churches of different denominations met, to consider modes of action which required the union of all the churches, I doubt if any among them had more acknowledged weight of character than Deacon Loring. He was, from the first to the last, my firmly attached friend.

"No one who remembers the period of my pastorate, can fail to recognize the executive officer of the society, Mr. Samuel Winslow, the sexton. Under his direction everything about the meeting-house, both without and within, was kept in perfect order. He was a man of small stature, but of unusual physical strength and of lion-hearted courage. I was told that on one occasion, when a young man behaved improperly in front of the meeting-house, and replied insolently to a very proper reproof, Mr. W. seized him at once and threw him over the fence. All who remember those times will see him in their mind's eye, with his hair combed back and formed into a long queue, reverently preceding the minister from the meeting-house door to the pulpit stairs. He watched over me with paternal care. When he saw me do anything which would cause unkind remark, he would tell me of it, as he would one of his children. I always thanked him, and, what was better, always took his advice.* He was a very pious man, the finest model of a thorough Puritan that I have ever seen. 'Peace to the memory of a man of worth.'"

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* Dr. Wayland has related that Mr. Winslow once said to him with considerable concern, "I saw that yesterday, in attending a funeral, you wore white stockings. That would excite remark, and be thought very unbecoming." Mr. Wayland thanked him sin-

Dr. Wayland sometimes mentioned a fact in the life of Mr. Winslow which he regarded as entitling him to enduring praise. We believe it happened before Mr. Wayland's settlement. The custom had long prevailed of offering intoxicating liquors to the attendants at funerals. Though the gross indecorum of the usage had often made itself painfully obvious, yet no one ventured to disturb it, lest, to omit the customary provision should seem a mark of meanness or (more dreaded still) of poverty. It was reserved for Mr. Winslow to declare, that he would not take charge of a funeral where liquor was used; and in no long time his example and his firm adherence to his resolve put an end to the usage.

Dr. Wayland writes further, —

"Several of the ladies connected with the church were women of eminent piety, full of mercy and good fruits, who aided me more than I can describe, in cultivating the graces of the younger members of the church, and training them for usefulness. Soon after my settle-

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cerely, and carefully heeded his suggestion. This incident illustrates his readiness to receive advice from whatever quarter. While he trusted greatly to his own meditations for principles and general laws, yet in practical matters he courted advice. One of his friends has said, "I was always afraid to advise him, for he was disposed to give more weight to my advice than I thought it was entitled to."

This incident also illustrates his desire to avoid any needless appearance of eccentricity. In matters of duty, of righteousness, he was willing to stand absolutely alone; but as to the minor details of life, of dress and deportment, he sometimes said, "I have important things which I wish to accomplish, and I will not needlessly do anything that will distract the attention of people to minor matters, or that will create opposition to me, or shake their confidence in my judgment. There is scarcely any reputation which is so valuable to a man, nor any that may so easily be lost, as a reputation for good sense."

ment a female prayer-meeting was established, which met every week, on Wednesday afternoon, at the house of Deacon Snow. This meeting was continued without interruption as long as I remained. They prayed much for the church and for their pastor, and I believe that their prayers were heard. In another respect their aid was invaluable. Whenever I knew of a female in the congregation who was at all anxious about her soul's salvation, I took pains to have her acquainted with some one of these ladies. They called to see her, and invited her to the prayer-meeting, gave her suitable advice, prayed for her, and used all means in their power to lead her to Christ. I also introduced to them every recent convert whom they had not before known. Ladies who joined the church, or proposed to join, from abroad, were introduced to them in like manner. Thus they all had the blessing of entering at once upon an acquaintance with warm-hearted Christians. In this manner the plants of grace, nurtured in a congenial soil, grew rapidly. When there was only the *appearance*, not the *reality*, of religion, it was also discovered before the person applied for admission to the church. All this was a great assistance in my ministry.

"When I became pastor, I found the church meetings by no means occasions of edification. A few brethren seemed resolutely to have determined that there should be no division in the church, and seemed to foresee inevitable division if their views did not prevail on every occasion. They could see no hope of harmony unless the large majority quietly submitted to their dictation. The idea that they themselves were to submit to reason and to the will of others, or that others had rights as well as themselves, never had penetrated their minds. They consumed the time with loud and angry speeches and reiterated forebodings of impending discord, unless the whole church adopted their sentiments. It was at last determined by the brethren, in no case to answer them, but to proceed quietly and resolutely with the business. This put an end to altercation, and before long an unkind word was never heard in our meetings. As soon as our little matters of business were disposed of, the remaining time was spent in devotion, and the church meetings became our pleasantest gatherings.

"A word in respect to the discipline of the church. I have referred to the failure of Deacon Snow. The integrity of no man in Boston was more unsullied. As, however, failures frequently brought great dishonor on the cause of Christ, the church felt itself bound to make no exceptions, and to ascertain by their own committee that failure was attended with no loss of moral character.

"I will relate another case of discipline, because it shows the manner in which this duty was then performed. Information was privately communicated to me that a prominent member of the church was in the habit of playing cards, perhaps of gambling, accompanied not unfrequently by partial intoxication. I at once requested the person to call on me, and told him what I had heard. At length he confessed that the accusation was true. I then endeavored to set before him the nature of his sin, and urged him to repentance and reformation. I saw him several times, and at last he seemed penitent, and promised reformation. I then considered the matter settled. But he soon returned to these habits, and the matter, becoming public, was brought before the church. He was suspended from communion, and a committee appointed to bring him, if possible, to repentance. The committee at length reported favorably upon his case; he appeared penitent, and it was voted that he should be restored, after a solemn admonition in presence of the church. This admonition was administered by the pastor, and I think that those are now living who remember it as an occasion of great solemnity. But all our labor proved vain. He relapsed, was excluded, was afterwards seized with a sudden attack while at the gambling table, and in a few moments was in eternity. He was lost; but we had done our duty, and had faithfully labored to reclaim him, and his conduct was no reproach to the church."

Outside of his own denomination Mr. Wayland's personal relations were limited. With Mr. Dwight, of the Park Street Church, whose mental powers he highly appreciated, he enjoyed a pleasant acquaintance. His most intimate friend was Mr. Wisner. They were nearly of the same age, had many interests, associations, and acquaintances in common, and were united by the memory of reciprocal kind offices. They walked together almost daily, comparing their readings and reflections, and debating every topic that interested the mind of either. In the summer of 1822 Mr. Wisner took a journey to recruit his health, and during his absence Mr. Wayland writes to him as follows: —

"I rejoice that your journey, up to the last advices, was so prosperous. My joy was somewhat damped by your remarking, that 'you were as well as when you left.' I had hoped you would have been much better. However, I think that your principal benefit will be derived from the use of Saratoga water. I hope you will try it faithfully and thoroughly, and according to the most approved directions. I am of opinion that your stomach received a shock at Princeton from which it has never entirely recovered. Give it a chance at the Springs. Do not come away until you have made a persevering trial. Let your other arrangements bend to that. Do not get *ennui*. If I were you, I would take an hour or two a day to write sermons, or study, or read, or something which would keep my 'thinkers' agoing; that will conduce much to drive away the blues. Your people are all well. . . .

"You *must* see Dr. Nott. I want to hear his opinon of the state of things here. Do go and see him. Spend a day at least with him. Professor Stuart has gone to the Springs, and will probably be there about as soon as this arrives. . . .

"I watched your carriage as it gradually diminished along the Mill Dam until it was no longer visible. Then, pursuing my journey alone, I thought over the state of the case. I followed you from town to town, put up with you, &c., and carried you even to Johnstown. . . . I should have 'admired' to be one of your party. But *fata non sinunt*. I am more and more convinced of the propriety of staying. God is pleased, in great mercy, to grant me my health more perfectly than when you were here. My appetite is better, and I can study a little more, though but little. For the last day or two the weather has been refreshing and cool. For the last three Sabbaths I have preached wholly without help. So, you see, I am not on the sick list. I have had some lonely walks, some groans, some hours of dejection; but I have got along better than

I expected. I make out to do something at home, and take now and then a turn in Poplar Street. The air is clear there, you know, and the prospect refreshing. I want very much to see you and shake your honest hand. But it is good for a man to hope and patiently wait. You will have nothing to do at the Springs but write letters. Write frequently, and tell me where to direct to you. I shall inform you immediately if anything should occur of interest. May God, my dear brother, grant you speedily your health, and return you to your labors. May he load you with the blessings of his goodness, and make you useful in your journey; and may we in future preach more faithfully, labor more incessantly, and live more holily than heretofore."

"My dear Wisner: I received your letter this moment, and, although it is Saturday, delay not to answer it. I had been waiting for some time for its reception. Inquiry after inquiry had been made about the Bishop of the Old South, and all were fruitless. 'Who had received a letter?' was the prevailing question. No one but Mr. W., was the answer, and that was dated three weeks ago. Mr. F. came home, but had seen nothing of you. Young A. returned, but no news about you. F. received a letter from my father, but you had not arrived, and he had almost given up the hope of seeing you. More than once I went to Deacon Loring's to know if there was anything for me at the post office. But no response arrived. Yesterday I saw a gentleman who was not personally acquainted with you, who said he had seen you at Saratoga. This removed my apprehensions (which, to tell you the truth, were somewhat serious), that some providential dispensation had arrested your progress. I thank you for your letter. It appears to have been written without any shade of 'blue,' which is rather more than I can say of the other. I am very glad that you are so well. I am confident that the Congress water will be your grand panacea. Do not, by fatiguing travelling, wear yourself down. Travel moderately and rest sufficiently. Everything here goes on as well as usual. P. and B. supplied for you last Sabbath. No deaths have occurred in your parish, that I have hear of. The city is healthy. The prayer-meeting goes on well. I attended it this week. . . . I am rejoiced you saw my brother. I hope you talked freely with him. I have an idea that God will call him to the ministry. If so, he must be educated. This will call me to more sharpness of calculation. I shall rejoice if it be so. . . .

"Do see Dr. N., and talk freely with him about the state of things here. Just ask him whether there could be any harm in my preaching two or three months on the character and offices of Christ, and endeavoring to go as fully as possible into the subject. . . . Say to Maria I love her very much, but I cannot tell how long it will continue, if she does not answer my letter. Remember me to all the professors. I groan in spirit to be with you, but, as I said before, *fata non sinunt*. I am perfectly convinced that it is better I did not go. In this you will doubtless agree when we see each other. I hate to say good by. May God bless you."

From the members of the Unitarian denomination, as he became known to them, he received many acts of friendship and of social courtesy. Indeed, the relations of the Baptists alike to the Orthodox and to the Unitarian churches, were not at this time unfriendly. The Orthodox were disposed to make common cause with the Baptists in behalf of Calvinism, while the Unitarians, never having been of kin to the Baptists, had no ground for a family estrangement, and were disposed to unite with them in opposing the demands of the "standing order." The fact that the Baptist church in Worcester was organized in Dr. Bancroft's meeting-house, was representative of the courtesy which softened the relations of the two denominations.

But it is probable that for the first two years of his residence in the city, there were very few outside his own denomination who knew of his existence. He owed nothing to factitious circumstances, nothing to wealthy patrons or influential friends, or to a commanding position accidentally attained. "I never had any one to boost me," he has sometimes said. It was just as well; nay, better. It was a part of the lesson of life. He learned to leave nothing to good fortune or to friends, but to do his own work each day. "All that I have ever accomplished was by day's works;" and sometimes he would hold up his hands, and tell a story of a minister who said that he owed everything to his two deacons, the two deacons being his right hand and his left. There was nothing that he had of mental acquirement, or of elevated thought, or of position, or influence, or reputation, but had been fairly won. And yet it was touching to hear him sometimes say to young men, "You do not have to struggle up from the very bottom, as I have done."

Of his personal appearance at this time, Rev. Dr. Stow speaks thus graphically: —

> "I first saw him at the house of Dr. Baldwin, who then lived at the corner of Hanover and Portland Streets. This was in June, 1822. A little while before the hour for tea, Mrs. Baldwin said, 'Mr. Wayland, pastor of the First Church, is boarding with us, and I shall soon introduce you to him. We think him an extraordinary young man, who will yet make his mark.' 'Yes,' remarked Dr. B., 'he promises to be one of our ablest thinkers and writers.' His personal appearance, as he came down from his study, is very fresh in my recollection. With a large frame, he was very spare in flesh. His face was thin, and the arch of his eyebrows was unlike anything I had ever seen. His complexion was pale, bordering on sallow, and I thought he might be a victim of incipient consumption. When standing, his posture was considerably stooping, and his movements seemed to me not the most graceful; indeed, they were rather angular. The splendid portrait in Rhode Island Hall is the fulfilment of no prophecy of his earlier years. His physical proportions and attitudes, as I first saw him, are truly represented in the portrait possessed by the First Baptist Church in this city."

Mrs. Wisner writes, —

> "He was tall and extremely thin; very pale, and often sallow. Indeed he was much of the time far from well, though always active and laborious. I think that he had

very little of what is called manner, in the delivery of his sermons. and that you get a better idea of his preaching from reading his sermons than is commonly the case with regard to ministers who have made so deep an impression upon the public. His meeting-house was old, unattractive, and situated in what had become a very undesirable street; and he felt its disadvantages sometimes morbidly. He suffered very much from depression of spirits for a year or two after he was settled. He thought he had not the sympathies of the mass of his people. But there were always some very warm friends among them, ready to sustain and encourage him in his labors. His deacons were devotedly attached to him, and as the young men became more acquainted with him, they rallied around him, and he felt stronger in his position.

"His habits of study, I should say, were very methodical and severe. He took his daily walk of seven miles, with my husband, for more than four years. The two were perfectly united in their aims. No denominational differences seemed to interpose any barrier as regarded the great object of their lives — the promotion of the kingdom of the Redeemer. He was very often at our house, and there he was always perfectly unconstrained."

He was then, as always, very fond of the interchange of thought and feeling. Dr. Stow writes, —

"He once called upon me apparently for no other purpose than to discuss the question, 'When is a thing proved?' I do not remember the answer I gave; but it differed from his, which he gave in form, and then illustrated in various ways: 'A thing is proved, when it must be so, or some law of nature is violated.'"

Rev. S. Peck, D. D., writes, —

"The invitation had not been unanimous. Deacons Loring and Snow and a few of the more intelligent of the church and society had strenuously advocated his election; but a large minority had been merely acquiescent, and some had persistently opposed. It was under this conscious embarrassment that he entered upon his work; and the results, in the edification of his people, as also in the extension of his pastoral influence, were gained through much toil and by slow degrees. He was not a popular preacher in the ordinary sense of the term. There were some, however, who justly estimated him from the first; and their numbers steadily, if slowly, increased.

"His character, as I then regarded it, and as I now recall its unstudied manifestations, was already substantially cast, and it retained its features in later years. There was, perhaps, at that time more of unguarded frankness in the expression of his thoughts and impulses, boldness verging at times on heedlessness; but the elemental texture was essentially one and the same as in after days. He was frank, manly, independent; ready to hear, kind, earnest, forceful in the advocacy of his views, but gracefully deferring at times to the preferences of his older associates; mirthful in seasons of relaxation, and even hilarious; not, however, to unseemly excess; exhaustless in humor and repartee; full of Napoleon and Dr. Nott; holding his own with his early friend Mr. Wisner; fraternal and respectful towards Mr. Sharp and the venerable Dr. Baldwin; while with all alike maintaining the bearing of a recognized equal."

In the delineations given by those who knew him during this portion of his life, the reader has probably remarked an apparent discrepancy. To one person he seems "mirthful, even hilarious;" to another, "depressed, even morbidly." And a similar seeming discrepancy may be observed in his familiar letters. If we may venture an opinion upon the point, we apprehend that by nature his tendency was to depression; that from youth he was more easily dispirited by reproof and failure, than cheered by approval and success. His ideals were high, and his inability to attain to them oppressed him. Mr. Joel Nott, who was very intimate with him while he was a tutor, remarks, "His chief characteristic was extreme nervous diffidence. This was so great and so painful, that it required much persuasion to induce him to preach."

When surrounded by confidential friends, when his mind was inspired by its own successful exertions, and when he was not weighed down with peculiar anxieties and responsibilities, he sometimes threw off this depression. He had entered on the ministry with exalted — perhaps it would not be too much to say with romantic — expectation of immediate success; he anticipated a church growing daily in piety, and unhesitatingly conforming their lives to the precepts which he exhibited; a congregation becoming convinced by his arguments, and giving serious heed to eternal realities. Presently he awoke to the discovery that they were but human, and, worst of all, that he was human also; his labors appeared far less successful than he had anticipated; his utterances perpetually failed to fulfil his ideals; he was suffering from dyspepsia; and he was lonely, for his heart had found no resting-place.

Then, presently, he would experience the soothing influence of the wise Dr. Baldwin's counsels, or he would forget his cares in the amicable conflict of thought with Mr. Wisner, or some new and unexpected evidence of good accomplished would lift the cloud, and he was cheerful, even joyous.

Sometimes humor and sadness combined in the same utterance; as when, in allusion to his failure to attract a large audience, he expressed the opinion that if his head were examined by the phrenologists, then rising into some note, he would be found to possess, in an unusual degree, "the organ of scatteration."

We imagine, however, that the apparent inconsistency between his varying exhibitions of feeling will most readily be reconciled by the reader who shall look into his own nature and remark the twofold personality, and the under-current of seriousness lying beneath the sparkling ripple. It ought to be added, that his feelings, of whatever description, never had the effect to paralyze his energies, nor to interrupt his labors. Rather, it may be presumed that he labored with all the more dogged and conscientious perseverance as circumstances seemed discouraging.

With later years, with a fully matured Christian character, with the abiding trust, the sense of divine nearness, "the faith that looks through death," he was enabled to acquiesce, even to rejoice, in all the dealings of God; and there was less often to be remarked an extreme depression, or a consequent reaction.

Of his sermons he writes to Mr. Potter, May 11, 1822: —

> "About sermonizing: I generally select a subject first. Frequently my text modifies it. I like best taking a subject and going through with it. If you hit upon a good one it will last for several weeks; for instance, growth in grace — the nature of it, exhortations to it, means for accomplishing it, &c., have furnished me with several sermons. When I get a subject I do not know how I make a sermon out of it; I think and think, and somehow or other it comes, sometimes head first, sometimes tail first, sometimes *disjecta membra*, neither head nor tail. All I know is, I get it somehow or other."

His sermons at this period are far from perfect. The introduction is often too long, and the temptation to introduce a great deal of matter in the early part of the discourse is not resisted. The application, on the other hand, is too brief and too general. The truth is often left in such a form that it might be received by the candid inquirer, but might without difficulty be resisted or evaded by the careless, self-willed, or hardened. The style exhibits sometimes too much of rhetoric, of ambition, and the less common and intelligible word is sometimes used where the simpler would be as forcible and more clear. There is not in them that profound Christian experience which came with the matured Christian life. He preached about the text, where, at a later day, he preached the text. Thus, from the text "The wages of sin is death," he enumerates the points of analogy between natural and spiritual death. At a later day he would have exhibited spiritual death and its connection with sin, and the fact that the one is the exact desert and the inseparable consequent of the other. Under the text "I communed with my own heart," he speaks generally of the reasons for self-examination; at a later day he would have delineated a Christian communing with his soul, so that every hearer, at least every regenerate hearer, would have known by his feelings, rather than by formal argument, what self-communion is, how great its excellences, how desirable the exercise. These defects flowed, in some degree, from the fact stated in his letter just quoted, that he selected the subject first, and then the text. Later in life the text was selected, the subject was deduced from it, and the sermon became " the text expanded."

We allude to these early characteristics with great diffidence, and yet with the feeling that he would have said the same thing. If the style of those days appears wanting in simplicity, it is because we apply to it the standard of that absolute transparency, that perfect directness, which characterized his later years. If the application appears inadequate, it is because he taught us to press home the truth with such directness that every hearer should say, "It is I." He had not then renounced the love of fame; he had not learned to eschew fine writing in the pulpit; he had not gained that victory over himself, over the love of reputation, position, or emolument, which he subsequently regarded as vastly higher than all intellectual achievements, and as the only way to a happy and successful ministry. He had not yet gained that complete freedom from all fear of man which was so prominent a feature of his later teachings. Yet his preaching was always the result of thought, and study, and prayer. It was always clear, always based upon Scripture, always solemn and impressive. His hearers grew in depth of spirituality, and the greater advances they made in piety the more highly did they prize his words. And with every sermon, then, as during the remainder of his life, the faults were fewer and the excellences more marked.

CHAPTER VII.

BAPTIST MAGAZINE. — MORAL DIGNITY OF THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE. — DUTIES OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. — VARIOUS PUBLIC LABORS. — BAPTIST TRIENNIAL CONVENTION.

IN 1823 Mr. Wayland became associated with Dr. Baldwin in editing the American Baptist Magazine, a periodical (issued at that time every two months) designed to communicate intelligence of the domestic and foreign missions of the denomination, to elevate the standard of mental discipline and religious attainment on the part of the ministry, and to further every agency for the evangelization of the world. Upon the death of his venerable associate, he became the chief editor.

In examining volume iv. (new series), for 1823–4, we find that in addition to collecting and digesting the extracted and communicated matter, he wrote about twenty articles, three of which are made up of material previously used in the pulpit, the remainder being reviews of recent sermons or volumes, and suggestions looking to the improved efficiency and increased piety of the denomination. In one series of articles he considers the Associations, their objects, their defects, and the means by which they might be rendered more eminently useful. He entertained the project — in common probably with many others — of making the Association the basis of a representative union, a federation of all the Baptist body. "The Associations in one state could easily send delegates to a state Convention. This would embody all the information and concentrate the energies of a state. These state Conventions could send delegates to a general convention, and thus the whole denomination might be brought into concentrated and united action." "The superintendence of the missionary and educational concerns of our denomination would be one important business of the general convention." "Another of their duties might be, by delegates, to correspond with our brethren in England, and thus the Baptists on both sides of the Atlantic would be united in a solid phalanx."

A comparison of these early imaginings with his later utterances, will not only illustrate the constant progress of his mind, and his readiness to receive new views, but will exhibit the characteristic frankness with which he utters those most difficult of all words, "I was mistaken." In 1855 he writes, —

> "To the independence of the churches the vast majority of our brethren have adhered with a most commendable and consistent tenacity. Notwithstanding this, attempts have been made among us to establish some kind of formal representation. When state conventions were first proposed, it was by many believed (and of them I freely confess to have been one) that through them we might establish a general Baptist organization. I now rejoice exceedingly that the whole plan failed through the sturdy common sense of the majority of our brethren. We look back at the present day with astonishment that such an idea was ever entertained." *

It will be remembered that Mrs. Judson spent a portion of the years 1822–3 in America. She was often in Boston, where Mr. Wayland formed her acquaintance, and in common with all who knew her, he was profoundly impressed by her character. Thirty years afterwards, in the Memoir of Dr. Judson, he wrote, —

> "It was my good fortune to become intimately acquainted with Mrs. Judson during her visit to the United States. I do not remember to have ever met a more

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* Notes on the Principles and Practices of the Baptist churches.

remarkable woman. To great clearness of intellect, large powers of comprehension, and intuitive female sagacity, ripened by the necessity of independent action, she added that heroic disinterestedness which naturally loses all consciousness of self in the prosecution of an object. These elements, however, were all held in reserve, and were hidden from public view by a veil of unusual feminine delicacy. To an ordinary observer she would have appeared simply a self-possessed, well-bred, and very intelligent gentlewoman. A more intimate acquaintance would soon discover her to be a person of profound religious feeling, which was ever manifesting itself in efforts to impress upon others the importance of personal piety. The resources of her nature were never unfolded until some occasion which demanded delicate tact, unflinching courage, and a power of resolute endurance, even unto death. When I saw her, her complexion bore that sallow hue which commonly follows residence in the East Indies. Her countenance at first seemed, when in repose, deficient in expression. As she found herself among friends who were interested in the Burman mission, her reserve melted away, her eye kindled, and she was everywhere acknowledged to be one of the most fascinating of women."

Elsewhere in the Memoir he says, —

"As early as the visit of Mrs. Judson to this country, Dr. Judson's demand for books [to aid in his work of translating the Bible] was large; and it was all for the best, for the foundation books. I well remember the pleasure with which I stripped my library of what I considered some of its choicest treasures to supply a part of his most urgent necessities."

To his mother he writes, —

"December 1, 1822.

"She is a most interesting woman. She equals Mrs. Stoddard in many respects, and in some is her superior. She is a woman of ardent piety and a most thorough missionary spirit. I hope you will pray that her health may be restored, and that she may be long spared to be a blessing to the East."

On the 23d of June, 1823, Mr. Wayland writes to Mrs.

O'Brien, a sister of Deacon Lincoln, long known and honored as the treasurer of the Missionary Convention, —

"The vision has passed. The star has set. Many a wave rolls its blue waters and tosses its white foam between Mrs. J. and all in America whom she loves, and by whom she has been so dearly beloved. Ay, and long will those waves roll before she and they exchange the welcoming of lip, or feel the reciprocated throb of affection. Ere that meeting takes place, in all probability, the heavens will be wrapped together as a scroll, and the elements will melt with fervent heat; or, at any rate, heaven and earth, elements and systems, will have faded away to our vision, and nought of this world will be recollected by us with pleasure but the moments of devotion or the acts of piety.

"The vessel, which was expected to sail on the 25th, was hurried away on the 22d, Sabbath. It was evening. The missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Wade and Mrs. J., had not expected to sail until the next morning. After afternoon service, Mrs. J. stopped a few moments at your brother's, and went to take tea at Mr. Sharp's. A messenger met her to say that the vessel would sail in twenty minutes. We hurried to the wharf. The notice was so sudden that but few persons were there — not more than fifty or sixty; most of them her particular friends. The Edward Newton lay off in the stream near the head of India Wharf. Her topsails were spread, and the flag of the United States, the signal for sailing, floated from her mizzen. A gentle breeze from the west barely kept it from hanging lifelessly. Everything was ready. The men were already heaving the anchor. After prayer by Dr. Baldwin, Mrs. J., Mr. and Mrs. Wade, Mr. and Mrs. Sharp, Mrs. C., Deacon Lincoln, and myself stepped into the boat and rowed to the ship. A few notes from the shore just fell upon the ear as we passed the wharf; but each stroke of the oars rendered them less and less distinct, until they completely died away. On the passage to the ship, Mrs. J. and your brother were much affected; but an effort to recover themselves succeeded, and though but few remarks were made, they were made pleasantly. Your brother drew as near to himself as possible a box of dollars, and scrawled a note to Mr. Judson. We were soon on board, and after a few moments all but the deacon and I returned to the shore. We intended to go out as far as the light-house. The anchor was weighed, and the vessel under easy sail in about twenty minutes after we got on board. In about half an hour or less a fine breeze sprang up, and she walked majestically through the water. The wind freshened so that we were obliged to leave them. We were on deck when we received the information that we must go. We ran down to the cabin, said farewell, and in a moment were on deck, in our boat, cast off, and the water rolled between us. Long shall I see the pallid countenance, the raven hair, and the heaven-directed eye of the missionary as she stood near the centre of the cabin when we ran down and said, 'We must go.' It was the last time I shall ever see her. May God bless her!"

During the summer of 1823 his health had become impaired, and he travelled on horseback to Saratoga Springs, occupying four or five weeks in the trip. His father most kindly supplied the pulpit, and performed all the pastoral labors during the absence of the son.

Upon his return to Boston Mr. Wayland writes, —

"September 7.

"My dear Mother, Sisters, and Brothers: I wrote to you from Windsor. I left that place on Wednesday morning, and arrived at Hanover at eleven o'clock. I rode alone; the rest of the cavalcade travelled homewards. Riding alone was not so lonesome as I had anticipated, and when external circumstances were pleasant, it was agreeable.

"I might, however, begin further back, and say that the morning after we left the Springs, we arrived at Glen's Falls. This is a romantic spot, and if I had had any idea of its being so well worth seeing, I would have taken you to see it. It is a beautiful waterfall. Here we parted. Some of us went to Lake George. This is not equal to the descriptions given of it. We were all disappointed. Saturday night and Sunday we spent at Granville. I preached once for Mr. Williams. He is a lovely, humble-minded, Christian man. There has been a considerable revival there, and the assembly was solemn.

"To pass over two days in which nothing material occurred, I was at Dartmouth College at Commencement. The performances were respectable. On Thursday afternoon I rode to Oxford, on the Connecticut River, where I was most kindly entertained by Mr. Wheeler, the father of one of my friends. On Friday I rode to Littleton, forty miles north, and on Saturday to the White Hills. This is a most dreary spot, and I spent in it the most desolate Sabbath I ever passed. Monday took me to Eaton, and Tuesday to Center Harbor, on Winnipiseogee Lake. Wednesday to Concord, Thursday to Haverhill, and Friday evening to Boston. I travelled pretty rapidly, and improved materially by it. I am now, I think, in better health than I have enjoyed for several months. I am of the opinion that riding does me more good than the Springs.

"Arriving home, I find all things well. Our dear father has been constant in labors, but has enjoyed uninterrupted health. By his kindness and piety he has much endeared himself to the people. They all regret to part with him, and hope that he will soon renew his visit, and bring his wife with him.

"And thus, my dear friends, a kind Providence has carried me safely through all the vicissitudes of travelling, has taken me to you, and has returned me again to my people in improved health, and has suffered no evil to come nigh my path. To the God of all my mercies would I return my most heartfelt acknowledgments. O, how great is the goodness of God to our family! We all enjoy health. Many of us he has, we hope, awakened by his grace, and he is still following us with his loving-kindness and tender mercy. O that his goodness may lead us to repentance. This very day has laid me under fresh obligations to thankfulness. To-day my brother John professed religion, and united with my church. It was solemn and pleasant. O, let us praise God for his goodness."

After returning from his journey to Saratoga, he commenced the habit of vigorous exercise, which he ever afterwards continued, and which added so greatly to his health, his enjoyment, his cheerfulness, and the tone of his mind. To his father he writes, November 10, apologizing for his delay, —

"I am not so punctual as I ought to be. I have been a good deal engaged since you left us. I have taken more sleep, and of course my days have been shorter. My letters used to be written during the hours which now find me asleep. This may furnish some excuse. My health has been better, through rich mercy, than for a year before. Soon after I came back, I took hold manfully of the saw and axe, and have sawed all Deacon Lincoln's wood. I presume I saw a cord every week. I exercise every day until I have produced, and continued for half an hour, a full and free perspiration. It has done me more good than my journey did. That depression of spirits which so much disturbed me has, through a kind Providence, gone — O that it might be forever! I am able to go through my duties with much greater pleasure to myself, and I would fain hope to the better improvement of my people. My congregation increases gradually. There is an increase of union. Some are inquiring. Mrs. —— has, I trust, obtained pardon, as well as Mrs. ——, although they neither of them believe it themselves."

To his sister, November 10: —

"I very frequently think of you and your quiet fireside, and wish I were one of your number. My health is much improved since I was with you in the summer. I have recovered my usual flow of spirits. I have been enabled to put forth more energy, for the last three weeks, than at any time for a long while. I pray God that this additional talent may be devoted to his glory.

"And this, after all, my dear sister, is all that is worth living for. There is no such polar star in perplexity, no such solace in adversity, as a strong desire to live to the glory of God. This makes everything peaceful, everything happy.

"I preached yesterday on the means God uses to check the growth of indwelling sin in his people. The subject is interesting. It might, if carefully considered, lead to much knowledge of our own character. We might see what sins he had singled out, and bent the course of his providences to correct."

The daily papers of Saturday, October 25, 1823, contained a notice that the annual sermon before the Boston Baptist

Foreign Mission Society would be preached on Sabbath evening, the 26th, at the First Baptist Church, by Rev. F. Wayland, Jr. The evening came, rainy and chill. The audience, though the three churches united in the service, was small. The text was, "The field is the world;" the subject, "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise." The house was uncomfortable (the preacher wearing his great-coat throughout the service), and there was (if we are rightly informed) but little enthusiasm on the occasion. On Monday morning Mr. Wayland went to Mr. Wisner's, and threw himself on a sofa, in one of his most depressed moods, saying, "It was a complete failure. It fell perfectly dead."* It is not easy to know exactly what impression the sermon made upon the audience; it is not easy, even for those who were present, to carry themselves back, and to separate their original and unbiassed judgment from the glow of admiration which subsequent events taught them to feel. It is quite certain that they had no conception that they were listening to a sermon which was to mark an era in the history of the missionary enterprise. But there were a very few persons (chiefly Deacon Loring and his son, who were united in business as printers) who insisted that the discourse must be published; and, says the author, "I was brought, seemingly by accident, into a position in which I was obliged, really against my will, to publish it." It was issued. The first edition, which appeared in December, was almost immediately exhausted, and a second was issued in February. Soon this was exhausted, and another and cheaper edition was published; which in turn was followed by others. It was adopted by the American Tract Society as one of their permanent series, and has had a place in several published volumes of sermons. In proportion to the population and the numbers then found in America, it is doubtful if its circulation has been exceeded by any American sermon; and certainly no other has held its place so permanently. With the exception of the close of Webster's reply to Hayne, it may be questioned whether any passage in American literature has been more often quoted than the paragraphs which delineate the conquering march of the early church.

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* But he gathered courage to preach it again at Salem, before the Bible Translation Society, a week later.

Among the Congregationalists of New England, the sermon was introduced by an article in the Recorder, which, while criticising the length of the introduction and the formality of the style, pays a most handsome tribute to the merits of the discourse, and extracts liberally from it. The Richmond Literary and Evangelical Magazine, edited by John H. Rice, D. D., said, "The purpose is nobly conceived and finely executed. A young writer, who, on a hackneyed subject, can produce such a discourse as this, deserves the attention of all who wish to see the standard of pulpit eloquence rise high in our country." It reached the colleges and seminaries of the country, and inflamed the minds of the young with a generous ardor in the missionary cause, as a copy, thumbed and scarcely hanging together, was tenderly passed from hand to hand.

The excellent and venerable Deacon Crane,* of Baltimore, says, "I carried a copy to the Old Dover Association, in Virginia; it was marked, I think, seventh edition. I read it to a few persons, one of whom was Dr. Jeter, now of Richmond. He became so excited by it that he got up and walked the floor, declaring that he could not sit still while listening to that sermon."

It found its way into the hands of readers who were little accustomed to regard with favor any utterance from evangelical pulpits, and in whose eyes the missionary scheme had seemed a needless and fantastic, though well-meant, extravagance, but who could not be insensible to the splendid conception of the discourse and its impassioned and sustained eloquence. To every candid mind it presented the hitherto despised enterprise in a light so new, so impressive, that it is not too much to say that it very sensibly abridged the number of persons disposed to regard the cause of missions with contempt.

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* Since the above lines were written, we learn with profound grief of the removal of this venerated, blameless, and benevolent disciple of the Lord Jesus.

In the course of a year or two it was reprinted in England, with a commendatory introduction by the eminent Dr. Wardlaw, of the Scotch church, and passed through several editions, receiving as hearty admiration abroad as it had done in America. The (British) Evangelical Magazine, July, 1825, says, "This splendid discourse is, beyond doubt, the effort of a highly accomplished mind. It is the burst of genius and of consecrated zeal. Seldom has it fallen to our lot to peruse a sermon in all respects so valuable. Well may America glory in the man who could rear such a monument."

It has been reported — we know not whether with any truth — that Robert Hall, having read it, and having learned that it was by a young man of twenty-seven, said, "The author of that sermon will be heard of again." A few years later the author received a copy translated into German. Of course its reception abroad did not diminish the estimate in which the discourse was held in the land of its nativity.

What was the state of his own mind while all this tide of approbation was flowing in upon him, is a question that will naturally occur to the reader. We have already quoted two of his letters written on the 10th of November, in which no allusion is made to the sermon. It is rarely mentioned in any of his letters. He writes to his father, —

"A second edition of the missionary sermon has been published. It seems to be popular, far beyond anything I had anticipated, and has obtained encomiums which, vain as I am, I can scarcely think it deserves. I hope it may do some good for the missionary cause."

He never seemed to regard the sermon as remarkable, and no one was more surprised at its reception. Deacon Moses Pond relates, " Not long after the sermon was printed, I was standing with one or two others on the plank walk in front of the church, talking of it very enthusiastically. Just then Mr. Wayland passed us. The walk was so narrow that he could not help hearing what we said. He checked us, saying, ' Now do not be talking any more about the sermon; let it go. If it does any good, let us thank God; but do not be talking as if some great or strange thing had been done.' " " The late Rev. Alfred Bennett, of precious memory, once expressed to Dr. Wayland his admiration of the sermon, and said that if he himself could give to the world such a production, he should feel that he had not lived in vain. Dr. Wayland smiled, and said, ' Well, brother Bennett, I suppose every man has one bright idea in his lifetime, and that probably was mine.' " * When one of his sons showed him a newspaper statement, to the effect that the sermon was written thirteen times, he said, " I wrote it just thirteen times — minus eleven; and I wrote two other sermons the same week."

Of course he did not mean to convey the idea that the sermon was the offspring of any sudden illumination, or that it did not cost time and labor. Then, as afterwards, nothing was done — nothing could be done — without a *plan*. After hearing, later in life, a discourse of much elegance of finish, yet without a carefully-digested train of thought, he said, " I could not have written that upon such a plan. The beams were not well laid." When a subject had " simmered in his mind " (to use a phrase he often borrowed from Sir Walter Scott) for days or weeks, until the train of thought was clear, the merely mechanical part was but the smallest portion of the labor.

And the Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise, though consuming no great amount of time in its actual writing, had been the growth of years. Intellectually it was the result of the study and reading prosecuted during the four years of his tutorship at Union College, the study of Longinus and Campbell, of Johnson and Addison and Milton; the result of the instruction of Professor Stuart and of Dr. Nott; and, no doubt, Lake George and the Green Mountains, and the White Hills of New Hampshire, had left an impression which we may trace in the picture of the quiet beauty of a New England village, and in the description of "the autumnal tempest collecting between the hills, and as it advances, enveloping in misty obscurity village and hamlet, forest and meadow." Nor should we forget the humbler agency of the sawhorse, and the weekly conquered cord of Deacon Lincoln's wood; for these remedies it was, which, in his own belief, drove away dyspepsia and depression, and quickened into action each bodily and mental energy.*

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* Dr. Stow's Reminiscences.

But it is from the heart that great thoughts come; and the real sources of the missionary sermon were in the closet where Christian parents pleaded before God with strong crying and tears for their first born; in the divine affection which filled his soul, when, unconscious of the act, he surrendered himself to Christ; in the admiring love for the missionary scheme inspired in him by the eloquence of Luther Rice; in the weary walks to South Troy, as he sought to gain something which he might offer to the cause of the Redeemer; in the religious fervor kindled anew by Asahel Nettleton; in the stirring news from all parts of the mission field, which passed before his eyes as editor of the Magazine, and especially in the glowing letters by which Judson pleaded with Christendom in behalf of the millions of heathenism; and in the presence of that noblest of American women, the wife of Judson, whose tireless energy and feminine fascination, inspired by a holy cause and a divine love, had kindled in him a sympathetic fervor, and whose well-remembered face and "heaven-directed eye" lent inspiration as he wrote.

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* He once told his sister-in-law, Mrs. O'Brien, that the plan of the sermon was thought out while sawing wood in Deacon Lincoln's cellar.

In 1825 Mr. Wayland writes to his brother-in-law Colonel Stone, then editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, "I am ashamed to tell you that I expect shortly to publish another sermon. I do not see that I can avoid it." He explains that his congregation, not long before, had requested him to publish a sermon with which they were pleased. He declined. They had now made the same request in regard to the sermon under consideration. He adds, "It would create dissatisfaction, and look like disregard to their feelings, if I again refused. I must do it, and will do it as well as I can."

The reference in his letter just quoted is to "The Duties of an American Citizen," two discourses preached on Fast Day, April 7, 1825.

His reluctance to publish was no doubt unaffected, as it certainly was natural. To print a second sermon, when the first had achieved a success so unparalleled, raising the author, at the age of twenty-seven, to the front rank in his denomination and his country, was a hazardous experiment. It could scarcely surpass the former; and yet the inexorable demand of mankind is for advancement, and he who does not perpetually surpass his former self is condemned as having fallen off. We may well believe that a sincere desire to serve his country and mankind, coöperated with the expressed wishes of his congregation, in inducing him to incur this liability.

The previous half century had been crowded with events unparalleled in their importance — the American revolution; the overthrow of monarchy in France; the rise, the conquests, the fall, and the death of Napoleon; the assumptions of the Holy Alliance; the birth of the South American republics; the growth of popular intelligence; and the introduction of steam communication. Many of these had, as they transpired, kindled the imagination of his boyhood, or awakened the hopeful solicitude of his maturer judgment. He had seen and talked with the surviving actors in the scenes of our own struggle. Not many months before, he had seen a nation paying its grateful homage to the champion and protector of our infant independence — the immortal Lafayette. It was not in his nature, he did not believe it to lie within his duty, to ignore the majestic series of events so vitally affecting the interests of America, of mankind. "In the attempt," he says, "to enlighten you upon any of those great questions, in which the well-being of our own country, as well as of other countries, is interested, I seem to myself to be discharging a duty not improperly devolving upon a profession which is expected to watch with sedulous anxiety every change that can have a bearing upon the moral or religious interests of a community." While he never descended to the level of a partisan, and while he ever held to the judgment that "he who uses personalities in the pulpit ought never to enter it again,"* he yet felt that men had a right, amid events of a world-wide significance, to expect from the minister of religion, instructions that should guide the course of the disciple of Christ. In the hour of our national agony, in May, 1861, he wrote to his son, a minister of the gospel, "Preach to the times; that is, as one 'knowing the times.' The minds of men are all on one subject, and that not a frivolous, but a grave one, and one that has a thousand connections with the government of God, the salvation of souls, and the encouragement to prayer. Start from any point in the times, but let it ever lead you to the vital and most solemn truths of revelation."

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* Ministry of the Gospel, p. 101.

In the sermons just alluded to, he considers, 1. The present intellectual and political condition of the nations of Europe; 2. The relations which this country sustains to those nations; and 3. The duties which devolve upon us in consequence of these relations. Some of his utterances, like those of the older prophets, seemed addressed not only to his own, but to other generations. The attack upon civil and religious liberty, which we have seen proceeding from among ourselves, was then anticipated from without; and the counsels of 1825 were equally apposite to the crisis, when foes, deadlier and more dangerous than foreign despotism could have nurtured, arose from within our own household.

> "Then will America need the wealth of her merchants, the prowess of her warriors, and the sagacity of her statesmen. Then, on the altars of our God, let each one devote himself to the cause of the human race, and in the name of the Lord of Hosts, go forth into the battle. If need be, let our choicest blood flow freely, for life itself is valueless when such interests are at stake. Then, when a world in arms is assembling to the conflict, may this country be found fighting in the vanguard for the liberties of man. God himself hath summoned her to the contest, and she may not shrink back. For this hour may he by his grace prepare her."

With a similar illumination, and in words, that without an alteration, might be applied to the armies which he lived to see gathered in defence of liberty and law, he says, —

> "Should the time to try men's souls ever come again, our reliance, under God, must be, as it was before, on the character of our citizens. Our soldiers must be men whose bosoms have swollen with the conscious dignity of freemen, who, firmly trusting in a righteous God, can look unmoved on the embattled legions leagued for purposes of wrong. When the means of education every-

where throughout the land shall be free as the air we breathe, — when every family shall have its Bible, and every person shall love to read it, — then, and not till then, shall we exert our proper influence in the cause of man; then, and not till then, shall we be prepared to stand forth between the oppressor and the oppressed, and to say to the proud wave of domination, Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther."

The discourses were imbued with a love for freedom, the largest freedom of mind and soul, the liberty that he never ceased to claim as his own right and that of every being. "Better that the earth should revolve without an inhabitant," he once said, "than that it were peopled with a race of slaves." And the sermons glowed with the brightest hopes of human advancement. To think trustfully of the capacity and destiny of the human race, when informed by the gospel of Christ, he regarded as a duty enjoined in the precept, "Honor all men." Those who saw him welcome the stirring news of the European revolutions of 1848, or who heard or read his sermons suggested by those events, cannot forget the hopefulness with which he greeted those popular movements. Dr. Channing's memorable "always young for liberty, I trust," would have found an echo in him. It ought, however, to be remarked, that his hopes were not inspired merely, nor chiefly, by the overthrow of dynasties, or the change in forms of government, but by the enlargement of intelligence, the elevation of moral principles, and the increasing supremacy of the religion of Christ: his confidence was not in man as man, but in man as the abode of the divine Spirit by whom he has been redeemed and renewed.

It was not a little noteworthy, that of his two first published utterances, the one was an appeal for the triumph of religion, the other for the elevation of mankind. Piety and humanity, the love of God and the love of his brother, — it was these impulses which inspired his early energies, and which led him to exertions too arduous for the waning vigor of threescore and ten; to these appeals he ceased to be sensible only when his latest pulsations were stilled.

The sermons maintained, and even enhanced, the reputation secured by that previously published. They proved that the latter had not been a happy accident, — "his one bright idea," — and that the period intervening since its publication had not been spent in an idle enjoyment of his first success, but in study, self-discipline, and thought, and in the steady growth of all his faculties. Although containing no paragraph so highly wrought as are passages in the missionary sermon, yet they excel it in calm dignity, in breadth of view, in sustained power.

The Boston Recorder, in a notice of the discourses, says, —

> "The author of these sermons gained much celebrity by his first production. Few have made a better impression at their first appearance before the public. It has often been said, 'Mr. Wayland must not soon venture his reputation again.' But while the warmth of feeling and the glowing admiration, which his first effort excited, have scarcely begun to subside, he has ventured again; and if I may judge from the effect on myself, I would say that these last sermons will not only sustain, they will elevate the former feeling. They have fewer faults and more excellences than the first. They evince a profounder intellect, a more classical taste, a richer fund of knowledge. They have finer strains of eloquence, and will be re-perused with deeper interest. There is a vigor of thought, a correctness of ratiocination, a manliness of sentiment, a unity of design, and a steadiness of aim which do equal credit to his industry and talent. The design of his [first] sermon was exceedingly happy. He has struck another popular string. Both are as original as they are felicitous. And I am greatly mistaken if the last do not enlarge the field of his fame."

The North American Review (October, 1825) devotes an article of nine pages to the sermons, awarding to them very high commendation, while taking exception to his remarks on the Romish church, as having been "more applicable three centuries ago than at the present time."

It is proper to add, that, for much valuable information contained in the notes appended to the sermons as published, Mr. Wayland was indebted to Colonel Stone, to whom he was through life united by acts of reciprocal kindness and literary aid.

The publication of the discourses last named, and of the missionary sermon, produced a change in the position of Mr. Wayland; it gained for him the ear of the public. Henceforth, to the end of life, whatever he uttered was sure of an audience, though of course not always of acquiescence, still less of applause. He had now a *ποῦ στῶ*; it was for the future to determine whether he should move the world. He also gained a confidence in himself, in his power to address and to move his fellow-men. And the success of his second publication was of peculiar value in freeing him from that nervous dread of his own former self, of the reputation gained by his maiden publication, which has crippled so many men whose entrance on life was most brilliant.

On the 27th of September, 1825, he delivered the annual address before the Porter Rhetorical Society, of Andover Seminary. The subject of the address was "The dependence of the eloquence of the pulpit upon a deep experience of personal religion."

The Christian Watchman, after a sketch of the train of thought, says, "We do not feel competent to present a correct analysis of this classical oration, which was listened to attentively by a delighted auditory; but we hope it may soon appear from the press." The discourse, with many excellences, partakes of a defect to which all of his more elaborate compositions were in that day liable; the introduction was laid out on a scale suited to the limits of a treatise rather than a discourse. No adequate space is left for considering the real subject under discussion. It was requested for publication, but was never printed.

During the week following the news of the death of the ex-presidents (July 4, 1826), Mr. Wayland preached a sermon appropriate to that event, which afterwards appeared in the volume of Discourses.

For the sake of unity we have thrown together our imperfect notices of some of his public addresses belonging to this period. It would require too much space to enumerate his discourses at ordinations, Associations, and other public religious assemblages.

In November, 1824, the Massachusetts Baptist Convention was formed in Boston, in the First Baptist Church. Mr. Wayland took an active part in its organization, and was appointed its first secretary.

The Newton Theological Institution had its origin in a meeting of ministers and laymen held in the vestry of his church, in May, 1825. He was deeply interested in the movement, was one of the corporate members of the board of trustees, and was the first secretary of the board.

Meanwhile the condition of the missionary enterprise among American Baptists had become such as to give rise to profound solicitude. The Convention, established in 1814 for the expressed and single purpose of "sending the glad tidings of salvation to the heathen, and to nations destitute of pure gospel light," had in 1817 voted "to institute a Classical and Theological Seminary." Such an institution was accordingly established in Philadelphia, and Rev. Dr. Stoughton, the corresponding secretary of the board, was placed at its head. "During the next three years the board turned its attention largely — some thought excessively — to departments for which provision had been made in the amended constitution. The project of founding an institution of learning was started and received with great favor, especially in the Middle and Southern States. . . . But many were rendered anxious by the question if it would be wise in a missionary organization to enter upon the undertaking. It was already apparent in many minds that this superadded enterprise was acquiring interest at the expense of the cause of missions." *

At the next meeting, in 1820, it was voted to establish a college at Washington, " not, however, without painful misgivings, in the minds of many, as to results." " It was feared the enterprise might overshadow the primary object of the Convention, and divert funds which might otherwise be available for missions."

In 1821, as we learn from the Magazine for July, the board voted to loan ten thousand dollars from the mission funds, to assist in the erection of the Columbian College.† The next meeting (1823) was held in Washington. Dr. Baldwin and Mr. Sharp attended, and Mr. Wayland, as the younger minister, remained at home. Mr. Rice, the agent of the Convention, reported that his time had been much occupied by the concerns of the college. He mentions an arrangement, projected by the trustees of the college, that the president should be reëlected corresponding secretary, and should be enabled to devote one day in each week exclusively to the business of the Convention. He states, also, that he (Mr. R.) has made such arrangements with the trustees, as to be able to serve the Convention as agent without charge. " The college, at each succeeding meeting," says the Magazine, July, 1826, " demanded more attention from the Convention, and the missions received less. The missionary cause lost its place in the hearts of Christians, until the souls of the heathen were almost forgotten ; and every paper and every report seemed exclusively devoted to the praises and the successes of the Columbian College."

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* Dr. Stow's " Early History," read at the Jubilee, 1864, from which, also, further extracts are made bearing on the same topic.

† We learn from Dr. Stow, that this application of the mission funds created such profound dissatisfaction in New England, that the money was refunded.

We find among the papers of Dr. Wayland a report, in his handwriting, bearing no date, but exhibiting internal evidence of having been presented in 1823 or 1824. It commences as follows: "The committee to whom was referred the consideration of the question, what means could be adopted to revive the spirit of missionary exertion in the Baptist denomination in New England, beg leave to offer the following remarks, as the result of some deliberation." To what body the report was submitted we are not aware. The report proposes to consider the following topics: 1. The past and present state of missionary exertion among us; 2. If there be a decline, what are the reasons for it? 3. Suggestions as to the means of reviving the missionary spirit, and a view of the difficulties which present themselves; 4. Considerations urging us to the course suggested. The writer delineates the ardor which at one time pervaded the denomination in behalf of foreign missions. Every heart, every purse, was open. In one year, the sum raised was within a few thousand dollars of that received by the American Board. "In the spring of 1818, we actually had twenty-three thousand dollars in the treasury." But now "the mission treasury has been exhausted, no one can tell us how. The receipts have been from year to year diminishing." "Scarcely any missionaries have, of late, been sent out, nor does any one feel the importance of sending them." "The feeling that all is at a stand is becoming universal." "There seems no centre of action." "We hear of the president of Columbian College, we hear of the college, we hear of the debts and embarrassments of the agent, but we hear nothing of missions." "The palsying effects of the system we have felt in our own minds. We cannot feel the interest we wish in our missions. Other missions are going forward, ours are declining." The causes of this decline are stated: 1. The novelty of the undertaking has worn off; 2. The location of the executive department of the missions at Washington — a location for which but one reason could be assigned, that it was the seat of the college and the residence of the corresponding secretary; 3. The want of a suitable person as corresponding secretary. "To the gentleman holding this office is freely accorded the praise of eloquence, learning, literature, unbounded hospitality, and affable good will. Waiving the question, Has he the qualifications needful for his office? it must be asked, Can he discharge the duties, while at the head of the college, and while presiding over several departments of instruction?" "Experience leaves no doubt on this point." "We believe him to be a pious and amiable man, and a man of talent; but we do still consider that both he and his advisers have greatly erred in the conduct of our missionary concerns." 4. The injudicious conduct of the agent. The very valuable qualities of Mr. Rice are cordially recited; "and we do not hesitate to attribute the great success of our first missionary attempts to his high personal and moral endowments." But he has been the means of diverting the public mind from the missionary cause to the concerns of the college, and he has thrown the financial affairs of the Convention into inextricable confusion.

How shall the missionary spirit be revived? We should supply the place of novelty by continually presenting interesting missionary matter before the public, and by continually augmenting our missionary stations. The seat of the executive must be changed. A secretary must be appointed who should give his whole time to the mission, or, at any rate, make that his first business. There must be a competent advising committee. "And finally, each one of us must feel that the missionary cause takes rank of almost everything else."

Upon the obstacles to such a course, and upon the arguments for its adoption as presented in the report, we will not dwell.

The next meeting of the Convention was held in 1826. Of this meeting Dr. Stow favors us with this reminiscence: —

"I met Dr. Wayland at the triennial meeting of the Convention in New York, in the spring of 1826. His sermon on the Missionary Enterprise had placed him in the front rank of the denomination, and secured him a respect and deference accorded to no other man of his years. The session was prolonged beyond precedent, for the subjects under consideration were of unusual importance. In the various discussions, some of which were profoundly exciting, Mr. Wayland earnestly participated, and by his cool, conclusive reasonings, contributed largely to the wise results which were ultimately reached with unexpected unanimity. In fact he did more than any other man to secure the separation of the college from the Convention. Many of his arguments bore heavily upon the policy of the Rev. Luther Rice; but they were expressed without any bitterness, and gave no personal offence. At the close of one day's warm debate, in which Mr. Wayland had spoken at length in favor of the separation of Columbian College from the Convention as a missionary body, Mr. Rice said to me, 'That Francis Wayland has a very fair mind. He knocked away my foundations, but he did it like a Christian man, and I cannot be offended with him.'"

At this meeting, in addition to the separation of Columbian College from the Convention, the executive seat was removed to Boston, the office of agent was abolished, and Rev. Dr. Bolles, of Salem, was elected corresponding secretary. All the changes made were in precisely the direction indicated by the report from which we have quoted. Of the beneficent results which attended the reorganization thus effected; of the renewed confidence, the revived missionary zeal; of the benign impulse that went forth to every remote station; of the years that followed, full of prosperous labor for the conversion of the world, — it would be needless here to speak.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPIRIT OF HIS MINISTRY.—HIS LIFE, INWARD AND OUTWARD.—HIS MARRIAGE.—EMBARRASSMENTS.—CLOSE OF HIS PASTORATE.

WE seem to have done great injustice to the subject of our memoir in the view given of his labors. We seem to have presented the acts which gained him the largest fame among men as being the most momentous results of his life—as being those by which he would wish to be judged. We are aware that he would have felt—and most justly—that more momentous far in reality, and in the estimate of angels, was the character of his own spiritual life and the discharge of his duty to the immortal ones over whom the Holy Ghost had made him overseer. Yet it has not been of choice, but from necessity, that we have made prominent the more public aspects of his life. It is not difficult to delineate the wide-spread impression created by a single discourse. But to describe justly the daily insensible growth of holiness in the soul; to record the inward struggles and victories known only to the Infinite—the ruling of one's own spirit (greater glory than that of him who taketh a city); to follow the pastor out upon the Neck as he goes to administer consolation to some one of the Lord's hidden ones; to record the counsels suited to the varying spiritual wants of old and young, of tempted and perplexed; to trace the progress of conviction in one soul, the dawning of hope in another, and the noonday of sanctification in another; to measure the gradual increase of seriousness in the body of disciples, of love for the word of God, of knowledge of self, of spirituality, — all this who may hope to accomplish? And it is rendered all the more difficult, from the fact that during his ministry there was not in his congregation any particular period of widespread and overpowering interest — any revival of religion. Yet he would have told us it was in such results far more than in the production of world-renowned sermons and in the establishment of a transatlantic fame, that his work as a minister of Christ lay.

The following, to his sister Mrs. S., illustrates his longing for the awakening and conversion of his people, and his disappointment when this result was not attained. It was for this result, far more than for any increase of literary fame, that he longed with irrepressible desire. The words of an eminent minister of Christ, "I don't want their admiration; I want their salvation," would have expressed his prevailing feeling. He sought not theirs, but them.

". . . I promised Sarah that I would write to you about the work in Boston. There is a considerable revival in Park Street and the Old South. Probably two hundred or more have been seriously impressed in the former place, and a number, I know not how many, in the latter. The attention still continues. It has not, I grieve to say, extended into any of the Baptist churches, though there seems some increasing interest among Christians. I know not that there is any more attention among sinners. A few days since we held a united meeting for fasting and humiliation. It was a pleasant and solemn season. Christians seemed considerably awakened and humbled; but I know not that there was any other effect. When I say *we*, I mean the three Baptist churches. I am sometimes disconsolate, sometimes tempted to sloth and unbelief. But I know this is wrong. I wait for thy salvation, Lord. I hope I may add, 'With strong desires I wait.' I never so much felt the total inefficacy of means to the conversion of a sinner or the edification of a saint. If I learn this lesson it will be of some use. But it is mournful to find no effect produced by our labors, when others so near are reaping so rich a harvest;

not because sinners are better or more deserving in one place than another, but because it looks as though God had a controversy with the people. O, may the blessing at last descend! . . ."

Difficult as it is justly to exhibit the interior aspect of his life and labors, we must attempt it, availing ourselves of such materials as we may. How was he affected by the new scenes amid which he was placed? Did he retain the simplicity of his nature, the tender reverence for parents, the sympathy with home, the intense love for brothers and sisters, the spirituality of mind, the meekness towards man, the humility before God? The undesigned testimony of his own letters, and the recollection of those who survive, and who recall the tenor of his life, will afford an answer.

His youngest sister — the youngest of the family — he used to call his "scholar;" for it was he who watched over her studies and aroused her mind to activity. He writes to her, —

"Your letter is very well written; the lines are straight and the composition very respectable. It does you credit. The studies to which you are attending are very important. I hope you will spare no pains to be thorough in them all. It is better to know one thing well than fifty things badly. If you ever know one thing well you will be a pretty great woman.

". . . My dear child, make the eternal God your Father. He has said, 'I love them that love me; and they that seek me early shall find me.' Seek him and find him, and you will be prepared for any event in time and in eternity."

And again: —

"I wish very much that it were possible for you to be with me. I hope Providence will so order it before long. You are getting to be of that age when I can be of more use to you than at any other part of your life. I should like very much to have you near me, where I could have, in some manner, the oversight of your education. But, after all, I think it very probable that I mistake. We are all very likely to overrate our capacity to be useful to others.

"I think your master is putting you forward too fast. I am confident you are not fit to study Virgil; that is, you ought to have read several other books first. You ought to have read Cæsar before reading Virgil. It is wrong to attempt to read Latin poetry before you can read prose."

At his earnest request, his parents allowed his little sister to visit Boston. While she was there, he selected her schools, and watched over her studies, and all her pursuits, with the wise solicitude of a parent. She writes, —

"While I was in Boston, I used always to spend the Sabbaths with him at Dr. Baldwin's; and sweet Sabbaths they were. Dear Dr. Baldwin was my ideal of a lovely, venerable minister of the gospel; he was very kind, and seemed very fond of me. As the twilight of the Sabbath was gathering, dear brother always took me into his study; we read together, and I felt that I could tell him all that was in my little heart, just as freely as to mother. And then we would kneel together. His prayer was not long, but I remember it was just what I wanted and needed for my childish little self. He remembered every one of the family, each of the dear ones *at home*. How I can recall the look of that study! It was calm, quiet, and unpretending. I know I have been better all my life for those twilight evenings. Then he would take me around to Milk Street, to Mr. Wisner's, and my Sabbath was ended."

Surely this was

"one whose heart
The holy forms of young imagination have kept pure."

To his sister, Mrs. Stone, February 6, 1825: —

"My very dear Sister: . . . How singular it is! but so it is; there is no accounting for tastes. You thought your last letter a very poor one. I thought it, on the contrary, one of the best you had written to me for a long time. Be assured I remember, with many a pleasant yet sombre reflection, the hours of our childhood. I well recollect, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, our odd amusements, and among them that famous drama, to which, I imagine, we may advance the claim of prior and undisturbed possession — the adventures of Giant Despair. In those mournful and yet eventful scenes, which probably no one besides ourselves ever enacted, I recollect my favorite part was the giant, though, I think, M., who was, like ourselves, an amateur, sometimes personated him. I fear that the effect of those spirit-stirring scenes, in which ourselves were the sole actors and spectators, may have left some traces on your imagination; I know not but to this may be attributed some of that extreme terror of me with which you are now so grievously oppressed. Be assured that I have entirely cast off the character, and am absolutely as quiet as a cat, to all which, I presume, Sarah will bear most ample testimony."

To Mrs. Stone: —

"July 19, 1825.

"My dear Sister: I cannot longer delay to express to you the pleasure I received from seeing you, and also the gratification with which I heard that you returned well, and not displeased with your visit. If God should spare our lives, I hope these meetings will be frequent. They awaken a deeper and more hallowed tone of feeling; they give rise to a thousand endeared and endearing reminiscences which we look for in vain from other associations. Other friends may be fast and firm; they may be acute and intelligent; but they can strike none of the chords which the hand of childhood strung, and whose music falls upon the ear like the memory of joys that are past — pleasant and mournful to the soul. I like to revive those things. I like to recall the little incidents of boyhood and girlhood, to tell over their follies and their sorrows, their pleasures and their pains. Each one, fresh recollected, seems to add a little to the thread of human existence, and to give new value to it, too; for it shows how closely it is entwined with the life of those whom, in auld lang syne, we loved, and in later years we have honored. 'Rather more poetical than usual, I think,' said Mr. Shandy."

To his brother John: —

"December 15, 1822.

"I received your letter not long since, and had written to you a few days before. I rejoice to hear the decision to which you have come. I hope and trust you were led to it by the Spirit of unerring truth. It has long been the desire and the prayer of my heart that you might be associated with me in the gospel ministry, and I now hope to live to see my wish accomplished. May God endue you plentifully with his grace, and make you an eminently useful minister. Cultivate, above everything, my dear brother, the spirit of ardent and constant piety. Seek in the Bible for the nature of true religion. Look not much to the opinions nor to the practice of men, but draw your principles and your spirit directly from the fountain of everlasting truth. There you can never mistake. Seek for the acquaintance of those who are remarkable for wisdom and piety, and let them be your chief companions. Endeavor to get into the habit of acting in everything in the fear of God and for the day of judgment, and you will not be in much danger of acting wrongly.

"I write now especially to say, that about the difficulty of expense in your education you need not be solicitous. I will take care of that somehow. You may make your arrangements to prepare for the ministry, as soon as you have father's permission. As to the place where you shall study, I cannot give an opinion yet. . . ."

To his sister S., accompanied by a watch: —

"I send you a small token of my regard. It is not wholly such as I could have wished, but it is as near as I could find anything. I hope it will please you.

"It will number your days, S., yes, and your moments. Though its voice be weak, it will be impressive. Its monitory finger will point out to you how rapidly time is passing, and how soon you must enter upon that state where duration will no more be measured by sun and moon. Then we shall either inhabit the city where the Lamb is the light thereof, or be shut up in that prison where, when the agonizing inquirer asks, 'How long?' the answer will come back from the gloomy walls, 'Eternity.'

"May this little monitor teach you so to number your days as to apply your heart to wisdom. May it teach you the frailty of man, and the shortness of his probation. It is one of the frailest works of human ingenuity; yet it will keep on its course when she who now owns it, and he who now writes about it, sleep in the dust. When that time shall arrive, my dear sister, may we be found clothed in the righteousness of Christ; and then, though the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we shall be raised to a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

We quote also from a letter of his father, dated March, 1824: —

"It affords me great pleasure, and at the same time, I hope, excites my gratitude, to notice the great acceptance your sermon met with; I do not think more than it deserves, if a parent may be allowed to express an opinion. But you will allow me to express the whole of my feelings on this subject. I was not without some anxiety lest Satan and a deceitful heart might cause the applause of mortals to prove a snare. It was my prayer, and still is, that our common Friend, who watches over our path, might make his grace sufficient for you. Nothing will afford me so much pleasure as to see you kept humble at the foot of the cross. If you are constantly found there, the talents which God has been pleased to give you will be employed to the good of mankind and to the glory of his holy name. The foregoing remarks, I am persuaded, will be received by you as coming from an affectionate father, whose experience has given him some knowledge of the human heart."

Of his inward temper, of the worship in spirit and in truth which he rendered, illustration is afforded in his letters, many of which have been cited.

We quote from a note written to her who afterwards became his wife: —

"Your note was received, and would sooner have been answered, but it was considered by your kind sister as too precious to remain long in my possession. It was taken away, without my knowledge or consent, very soon after its reception, and was not returned to my table till a few minutes since. It speaks of moral and of physical infirmities, of sickness of soul, and debility of body. . . . For the disease of the soul there is a sovereign remedy, a remedy which was devised by omniscience, and which has never failed of success. In the worst cases it has been tested, and its efficacy is infallible. 'The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.' This remedy is freely offered to all the children of men. No one need perish unless he so will. 'Whoever will, let him come.' It is offered, and has been offered, to Lucy; and it is the hope of her friend that she will accept it, if she has not yet done so."

The piety that was "as a fire shut up in his bones," could not but express itself in earnest longings for the salvation of the souls of which he had, at divine command, taken the care. A Christian lady, at whose house he boarded, says, "He was a faithful pastor. I have in mind one person particularly, who was poor and had many trials. She often came to the house to talk with the pastor. He was very kind to her, and never wearied of her coming, however great the interruption. He gave her his sympathy, and was untiring in his efforts that she might secure the consolations of religion."

During one summer he boarded, in one of the suburban towns, with Mr. D., a member of his parish. Mrs. D. was of a very retiring disposition, and found it impossible to converse freely with any one on personal religion; but she attributed her conversion to his prayers in her behalf.

In his "Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel" he recalls this incident in his pastoral life: —

"I had been preaching on a solemn subject on a week-day evening, and the audience seemed more than usually interested. In walking out with one of my hearers, I was guilty of making some trifling remark, the spirit of which was wholly at variance with all that I had been saying. I was immediately impressed with my inconsistency and wrong doing, and I never think of it without regret, and, I hope, repentance; for that one trifling expression may have wrought permanent injury to an immortal soul."

We may venture to believe that if a single error could thus remain fixed in his memory after a lapse of nearly forty years, his ministerial life must have been unusually free from blemish.

During the first three years of his ministry he boarded, and, during a part of that time, in a portion of the city somewhat distant from the majority of his parishioners. But he was dissatisfied with this course. He felt that by this remoteness he lost much, and failed to hold in his hands countless threads of influence and sympathy. He has remarked, that after boarding out of town for a summer, although he was among the parish almost daily, yet he did not "catch up" with his work for months. He regarded the gospel which is preached from house to house as being quite as efficacious as that delivered more formally upon the Sabbath. Indeed, he felt that next to the Bible there was no other source of sermons so fruitful as the hearts and the conversation of his people. He often in later life quoted the remark (made to him we think by his venerated friend, Rev. Dr. Welch), "Tell the people just what they tell you, and you will find that nothing will interest them so much." We have heard Dr. Wayland mention that he once called upon a mother, who had been bereaved by the death of her daughter. The afflicted mother poured out her heart, and told him how the child had lain in her bosom, had never been absent from her for a day, had been the mainspring and motive of her life, and how utter now was her desolation. Not long after this conversation, the pastor had occasion, in preaching, to allude to a mother's love, and used as nearly as possible the very language of the bereaved mother. The people, in amazement, heard their own deepest emotions delineated, and many of them expressed their wonder that a man so young could know so much of human nature.

Believing that his usefulness would be increased by such a change, in the fourth year of his settlement he rented a house in Hanover Street, and invited his sister (now Mrs. C.) to come and preside over his home. She kindly consented, and had an unusually favorable opportunity to know him in his relations to his charge. She remarks, "He was much in his room, and the hours appropriated to study he was very unwilling to have encroached upon. His house was always accessible to his people, and open to his ministering brethren. His tastes, I suppose, drew him more to his studies than to parochial duties. Of this I think he was sensible, and carefully guarded against any neglect in this respect. The poor, the sick, and the afflicted always called out his sympathy, and I well remember the promptness with which he hastened to such abodes. Having once entered them, any apparent reserve in his manner was lost. He had great tenderness for children, and they approached him confidingly."

We recall his once saying to a minister whom he was visiting, "I was glad to see you speak to those children. Those who are children now, and whose affections you may secure, in a few years will be men and women."

Mrs. C. adds, —

"He seemed to me to have no time for relaxation. The only change was in the character of his work. He did not mix much in society, and was often at a loss for that small change which is always in demand in the social circle. He rarely accepted invitations to dine, and had the impression that he was not fitted for general society. Even in this early period of his life I think he often suffered from a sense of isolation, and had many a hard struggle within. At his own table the flow of conversation was easy, and his humor was irresistible as it scintillated from those deep-sunken eyes. And the attention was often arrested by some striking remark, which to others became the seed of thought. He did not delight in speculation; his mind was essentially practical. His conversation often turned on the advance of science as contributing to the general well-being of mankind, and to the wide diffusion of the conveniences of life. His aim then, as afterwards, was to raise humanity to a higher level. The ministry of the gospel was the great lever, but subordinate agencies he recognized in their appropriate working."

Of his preaching she remarks, —

"To the young it would not be generally interesting. He was a good deal confined to his notes. The subject was discussed with great clearness, and his power of analysis seemed to me wonderful. He appealed to the reason more than to the emotions, and though exceedingly impressive and always instructive, did not warm and animate his audience as much as some men of inferior powers. The technicalities of religion he avoided. His language was that of common life. His Wednesday evening lectures, at which he never used notes, and which were generally of an expository character, were peculiarly interesting, and were always well attended."

Mrs. O'Brien remarks, —

"As a pastor, his influence was remarkable. Persons were surprised at his insight into the secret springs of their thoughts and feelings, and were led to open their hearts to him in the fullest confidence ; nor was their confidence ever misplaced. In conversation he excelled, not only in communicating his own thoughts and feelings, but in drawing out the minds of others, discovering to them their own inward resources, and making them self-reliant and aspiring. If one were involved in perplexity, he had a happy faculty of giving just the counsel needed, often by some pithy maxim, that fastened itself in the memory."

Dr. Pattison remarks, in speaking of his character and labors as a pastor, —

"He sought the conversion of his acquaintances *one by one* — sometimes by private conversation : when he could not see them personally, he addressed, as I know, many by letter, — short, it might be a mere note, — not only serious, but eminently tender and persuasive. I have reason to believe he had ordinarily in mind some one or more outside of his own domestic circle for whose salvation he labored and prayed. Such a habit, nourished by such a spirit, must have made him a useful pastor."

As we have alluded to the character of his sermons during the earlier years of his ministry, it is but just to add that a marked progress is clearly discernible. Those of the latter half of his ministry greatly excel those of the former in simplicity, in directness, in clearness of style, in effectiveness. Less rhetorical, they are morally much more impressive. We apprehend that the change to which we refer will be noticed by any one who shall read in succession the Missionary Sermon, of 1823, and the sermon on the Duties of an American Citizen, of 1825.

As to the plainness, wisdom, and love which were mingled in his preaching, a single circumstance is a more impressive testimony than the most eloquent eulogiums. He preached a sermon upon intemperance, exhibiting not alone the ruinous effects of indulgence in the vice, but the sinfulness of doing aught that would promote it. The next day, a member of his church called upon him and said, "I have been in the habit of selling liquor at my store. But if what you said yesterday is true, it is wrong, and I ought to abandon it, however much the step may reduce my profits." He accordingly renounced all connection with the traffic. It is a sincere pleasure to record this incident in the life of one of whom Dr. Wayland writes, —

> "John Sullivan was one of the older members of the church, an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile. Humble, mild, amiable, slow of speech and action, he honored his profession by a holy walk and conversation."

We return to the narrative of Mr. Wayland's life and ministry. On the 21st of November, 1825, he was married, by Dr. Sharp, to Miss Lucy L. Lincoln, of Boston. Her brother, Deacon Heman Lincoln, and her sisters, Mrs. O'Brien and Mrs. Haven, had long been, and ever continued to be, among his most endeared and valued friends.

To Mr. Potter, who had just been invited to St. Paul's Church, Boston, he writes, —

"It looks as though the hand of God was in it. I write with a mixture of regret and pleasure. I know so well the painfulness of breaking up long-cherished relations, and entering upon the discharge of new and untried duties, that I cannot but sympathize with you, while I thank God that it is so.

"I pray, my dear Potter, that you may be blessed with that child-like reliance on omniscient wisdom which shall support you, and that clear view of the designs of Providence, that your path may be entirely plain. I will only add, that every day seems to present some new feature, which develops more and more the importance of the station, and the necessity of having here a liberal, and catholic, and evangelical man.

"Should you come, I hope I need not say that you have a home here already prepared. I will only add, that you will drive to 188 Hanover Street, opposite Mr. Ware's meeting-house."

Notwithstanding the growing reputation of the minister, his evident piety, his varied ability, the increasing union and attachment of the people, yet there was a want of prosperity. During nearly every month additions were made to the church, not large in number, yet sufficient to show that labor was not spent in vain. But the congregation remained nearly stationary. The ability of the society did not increase. A debt had for several years been resting on them. This was removed, largely or entirely, through the exertions of the pastor, who, in addition to the labor of personal solicitation, gave one sixth of the amount raised. But even after this removal was effected, the income did not meet the expenses, and another debt was accumulating.

Convinced that the location of the house of worship was an obstacle to the prosperity of the church, he proposed the erection of a new house, on a more eligible site. Apart from a want of confidence in the pecuniary ability of the society for such an undertaking, two reasons were urged against the step proposed. To remove from the present location would put it out of the power of several very aged members, residing in the vicinity, to attend meeting (though, indeed, as it was, they scarcely ever were present). The second reason, which settled the question, was, that Dr. Stillman had preached in that house, and walked down that plank walk. Nothing came of the movement; but after it was too late, it was ascertained that several gentlemen of wealth, attached to other denominations, who placed a just estimate on the ability of Mr. Wayland, would have coöperated liberally in the erection of a new meeting-house.

The salary, which had formerly been sufficient for his wants, now proved inadequate to the needs of one who, in addition to his own family, had assumed the whole responsibility of the education of his younger brother. Dr. Neale says, "He was too humble, or more likely too proud, to ask to have his salary raised."

He had, too, gradually become involved in a variety of cares and labors outside of the parish, which consumed his time and crippled his ministry, yet from which he scarcely knew how to free himself.

We believe, however, that we shall best satisfy the reader by presenting Dr. Wayland's own view of his ministry, and of the causes which led to the termination of it: —

"I had intended to preach without the use of a manuscript. I began by committing my sermons. This I practised for a short time, and should have had no difficulty in continuing it. My friends, however, especially my deacons, advised me to read; I followed their advice, and thus became a reader of sermons. This I conceive to have been the great error of my life as a preacher. I had, it is true, little practice as a speaker. I presume I was awkward in the pulpit. I know that I did not feel at home there, and I had little confidence in my control over an audience. I had little power of self-excitement. This needed cultivation by the intercourse of speaker with audience. My compass of voice needed enlargement. Yet I had, I think, the elements of an impressive speaker; and when I have addressed an audience under favorable circumstances, I think I have frequently been successful. Had I at this time boldly thrown myself on my own resources, with reliance on the promised aid of the Spirit of God, I might have been much more useful.

"I saw the absurdity of attempting to conduct the Wednesday evening service with a written discourse, and I prepared myself, as well as I was able, to preach extempore. At first my efforts were sad failures, though I took a large part of the day for preparation. I resolved that it must be done. I continued doing as well as I could. By degrees the work became less difficult, and at last it became a pleasure. The vestry was well filled, and I think more good was done than on the Sabbath. I then acquired some facility in extempore speaking, and no doubt some vitality was imparted to my written discourses.

"The foundation defect in my ministry was, that I did not gain victory over myself. I was, I believe, the only settled Baptist minister in Boston who had received a collegiate education. I naturally conceived the idea that more was expected of me than of my brethren. I preached a missionary sermon, which, upon being published, was highly applauded. Subsequently I preached a Fast Day sermon, which was also published and well received. I thus gained a reputation (as I always thought much above my deserts) which has had a powerful influence on my subsequent course.

"I do not know that I was led from these circumstances to place a high estimate on my own abilities. I do not think that this has been my sin. I indeed acquired the belief that I could do some things (that is, the things that I had done); but there my self-confidence rested. Whatever of success I have achieved may be traced to a dogged resolution to do my duty, rather than to any other source.

"But I was led to think that plain, simple, unadorned address, though suitable to other occasions, would not be appropriate for the pulpit. I could not persuade myself to carry the Wednesday evening service into the pulpit on the Sabbath. I never set myself at work resolutely to become *a preacher*, that is, one who, out of a full heart, and without reading, delivers his message to the people.

"I do not know that I was preëminently at fault above others. I was, I think, considered direct in my appeals to the consciences of men. The most religious of my hearers were pleased with my preaching, and were attached to me, as I was to them. But if I had gained a proper victory over myself, over my love for reputation, and desire to be useful to my denomination by raising their intellectual character,—and if I had, in reliance upon the Holy Spirit, labored simply for the conversion of souls, — I firmly believe that I should have been more useful, and I should now look upon the past with far greater satisfaction.

"In another respect I review my ministry with regret I was placed by my brethren on boards of societies, and took a part in all the measures that were in progress for the promotion of religion in connection with our denomination; the Triennial Convention, the State Convention, and the Magazine. I was not employed in secular business. My labors were ecclesiastical. Now, this sort of labor took up directly, or indirectly, much of my time. Directly, I was obliged to write much, and to attend a variety of meetings. Indirectly, I was obliged to see a multitude of people. Frequently, before I had composed myself to work in my study in the morning, I was called down, and was occupied with people until dinner; and sometimes the afternoon was spent in the same way. Thus all my plans for improvement were broken up; consecutive study became impossible, and I frequently said that the Bible and my own sermons were all my reading. When a man's mind is thus occupied, his interest in his people will gradually diminish. His outside work seems to be religious; it must be done to-day: his work for his people may be done to-morrow, or next week; and in the end it is not done at all. At last his real work, the work for which he is paid, — labor for the conversion of the souls committed to his care, — receives only the chippings and leavings of his time; and even these chippings and leavings have in them no vitality.

"Another effect of this multiplication of business is, to break up all habits of devotion, till a man's religion becomes often a dry skeleton of orthodox doctrine, rather than a living fountain within him, quickening his own soul, and refreshing the souls of others. But the minister has the same liability to sin as other people, and some temptations peculiar to himself. If his religion has become inoperative, the power of temptation is redoubled, and nothing but the especial grace of God can preserve him from falling into sin.

"During my ministry I failed greatly from neglecting to read the Scriptures. I read them in my private devotions, and to find texts to preach from; but I did not study them ceaselessly, as the great source from which to derive all that I was to preach to my people. I fear that this error is far too common. I well remember a conversation which I once had with Professor Stuart bearing on this point. He wanted to see a theological seminary in which nothing should be studied but the Scriptures.

"I also erred, during my ministry, in respect to visiting my people. From the amount of out-door religious business, I had but scant time for this duty, especially during the last part of my settlement. I was not, indeed, much complained of; I felt and acknowledged the obligation. I never regarded it as 'an intolerable bore.' But I did not make it a part of the regular business of every week and every day. I also erred in the manner of it. I did not deal faithfully enough with my people. To the religious, so far as I remember, I was in the habit of talking upon religion; and I made myself so familiar with them, that they would see me in the midst of their ordinary avocations. I remember cases of edifying religious conversation with members of my church over the washtub. If I heard of any who were thoughtful on the subject of religion, I never neglected them, and was careful to introduce them to those who would do them good. But with those who were wholly worldly, I fear that I was often found wanting. I did not get them alone and set their danger before them, so that I could say, 'I am free from the blood of all men.' The Lord pardon me, and lay not the sin of blood-guiltiness to my charge.

"And yet I cannot say that I was wholly unmindful of my duty in this respect. One incident I recall with pleasure. One member of my church was a very high Calvinist — higher a great deal, I apprehend, than Calvin himself. He did not consider me 'clear in the doctrines.' He himself was perfectly clear, and was, so far as a good man could be, a thorough fatalist. He was very unwilling to have me invite sinners indiscriminately to repent and believe. His family were amiable and intelligent, but entirely worldly. I believed it to be my duty to converse with them on the subject of religion, and did so, but with very little success. The next time I saw their father, he plainly, though very kindly, told me that he did not wish any one to converse with his children on religion; for if they were elected, they would certainly be converted; if they were not elected, talking to them would only make them hypocrites. From this incident I am encouraged to hope that I was not wholly wanting in the performance of this part of my duty, for its performance in this instance would seem peculiarly trying to a young minister. I am sure, however, that I fell very far short of my duty, both in universality and in earnestness.

"But the source of all my errors may be summed up in few words: I was not sufficiently religious. I was greatly wanting in that faith that brings home to the soul eternal things with the force of an imminent reality. I was too easily satisfied with employing all my time in labor (for I was not an idle man), instead of devoting myself to the work of saving souls, in humble reliance on the power of the Spirit of God. I see that I had a sort of idea that I might so construct and deliver a discourse that by its own inherent energy it would produce a moral effect. Hence my work of preparation was an intellectual rather than a moral and spiritual effort. I relied in a certain way, it is true, on the Spirit, and looked to him for his assistance, but far too inadequately. I was not habitually devotional. I lived, as I now see, by no means near to God. I wonder that God did any good through me, and that he did not cast me aside, as a vessel in whom he has no pleasure. But in spite of all my deficiencies, the church became, I believe, more religious, and souls were given as the seals of my imperfect and faulty ministry."

We have introduced these remarks, believing that the estimate which he placed on his ministry in Boston would not be without interest to the reader. Yet we think it right to add, that however it may be in the divine view, it is probable that no human observer would concede in full the justness of his review. It is certain that he was regarded as in an unusual degree a devotional, faithful pastor, a scriptural, searching, and eminently evangelical preacher; and the more simple-minded and spiritual of his hearers found themselves the most highly profited by his ministry. The fact that during the latter part of his settlement he was invited to the pastorate of a church then just organized in the city, and that he declined to accept it, from a belief that so many of the principal members of his own people would follow him as to enfeeble and destroy the church to which he had been ministering, — bears testimony to the regard in which he was held by his brethren, and by Christians in the community, as well as to his self-forgetfulness. It is certain too that he underrates the effect of his own preaching. In fact, its full results were probably never known to him. During the year following his removal from Boston, an extensive revival pervaded the city, and the First Church, though at the time destitute of a minister, shared in its blessings. And many who were then converted ascribed their conversion to his labors. A minister * writes, "In supplying the pulpit of that church many years after, I heard one of the members say that a large part of the candidates for admission, since Dr. Wayland left the pulpit, dated their first serious thoughts from his sermons." As he underrated, or was ignorant of, the results of his labors, may we not also believe that he put too low an estimate upon the fidelity, the earnestness, the piety of which his labors were the offspring?

In the spring of 1826, very unexpectedly to himself, he received a letter from Dr. Nott, inquiring if he would accept the Professorship in Union College, recently relinquished by Dr. Potter. After some deliberation he promised to accept the appointment, influenced in this decision by the inadequacy of his income, by discouragement with his supposed want of success, by the apparent impossibility of achieving extensive results in the location then occupied by the society, and by a determination to free him-

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* Rev. William B. Jacobs.

self from the diversified employments which had rendered his life, of late, so fragmentary and futile. He adds, "It was never my intention, by accepting a professorship, to relinquish the ministry. I thought it likely that, within a few years, some opening would appear in the neighborhood of Boston, to which place I had become much attached, and that I could return without inflicting an injury on my people."

At the monthly meeting of the church in July, Mr. Wayland read a letter addressed to the church, in which, after referring in terms of gratitude to the kindness which they had exhibited during the five years of his ministry, and the charity which they had extended to his imperfect labors, he adds, —

"It cannot, however, brethren, have escaped your notice, that my success has, for some time past, been less than you had a right to expect. It has, indeed, been such as seemed to indicate that Providence designed me for some other field of labor; and after prayerfully reflecting upon the subject, such is the conclusion at which I have ultimately arrived. This conviction is further strengthened by the fact that at this time another sphere of usefulness has been presented before me, which, in the existing circumstances of the case, I feel that it is my duty to accept. It is painful to me to refer to our pecuniary concerns. You will, therefore, allow me only to remark on this part of the subject, that I feared lest, by longer retaining the office which I hold, I should create embarrassments to you as well as to myself. Under these circumstances I do hereby respectfully request to be dismissed from the pastoral care of this church and society."

To all the members of the church these words were utterly unexpected, and they were received in amazement and tearful regret.

Dr. Wayland writes, —

"When I resigned my place, it was a matter of great surprise, and, I believe, of sincere pain, to my people. I found that they loved me much better than I had supposed; indeed, had I known, before I was pledged, how sincerely they were attached to me, I think I should never have left them. This attachment has continued to the present day. No member of that church or congregation, now after thirty-five years, ever meets me without the most affectionate recognition; and none love me more than those who at first bitterly opposed me. I was settled in Boston for five years. I did not then understand the value of the element of time in producing results. I supposed that changes might be effected more rapidly than was actually possible. I also underrated the results which had been produced. Many persons, comparing the condition of the church when I left them with its condition when I entered on my ministry, considered my labors more than commonly useful.

"Two questions here arise, as to my resignation and as to the manner of it. As to leaving the ministry, I doubt, at the present time, the wisdom of the step. Were the decision to be made again, with my present knowledge of duty, I think I should not leave the pulpit. My delivery, it is true, was not good. I may well say it was not attractive, since it did not attract. My situation was, in many respects, unfavorable, and there were many disadvantages from without to be overcome. Yet they might have been overcome. With my present judgment I should have remained where I was, corrected my delivery, and devoted myself entirely to my ministry. Determined to deserve success, and relying on the Spirit of God, I might reasonably have hoped for it. As to the manner of leaving my people, I have long looked on it as an error. I pledged myself to go, without giving my people an opportunity to remove the obstacles to my continuance. I should, before making a decision, have laid the case before them, that the claims, both of the college and of the church, might be fairly presented."

On the 17th of September he preached his farewell sermon, from 1 Thess. ii. 19: "For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?" Dr. Stow, who was present, and who had occupied the pulpit during the day, says, "It was not wanting in tenderness, but was eminently instructive and impressive."

We cannot more appropriately close the record of his ministry in Boston, than by quoting a letter written to Dr. Neale, March 18, 1865, in reply to a letter from the latter, inviting him to be present at the approaching two hundredth anniversary of the First Baptist Church, and requesting from him some notices and recollections of the period of his pastoral labors.

"Your letter of the 14th arrived a few days since. With regard to what you say of one of your predecessors, I desire neither to be squeamish nor self-laudatory. I think you know me well enough for that. I have never sought or canvassed for a place among my brethren. I have declined many, really preferring to do the work rather than to seem to do it. I know that as a pastor I had a multitude of deficiencies, but I humbly hope that I *tried* to do my duty. I do not think that I ever endeavored to save myself; but if any good was done, it was all, *all* the work of the blessed Savior. I was at best but a miserable instrument. But in all you say, let this one idea predominate and govern: *All to the glory of Christ.* If it please God, I will endeavor to be with you. Let all be religious, that God may bless it; let it do good to those that come after us. May God help you and all of us."

The reader will also be interested in a review and estimate of Dr. Wayland's ministry, found in his "Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel." The passage containing this review closes as follows: "If I have any knowledge of the faults of the ministry, the germs, at least, of that knowledge have been derived from my own painful experience."

Of his brief period of labor at Union College, he writes, —

"In September, 1826, I went to Union College. It was intended that I should permanently accept the professorship of moral philosophy, though I temporarily supplied that of mathematics and natural philosophy. I entered at once upon my duties with interest. When a tutor, I had taught most all of the mathematical studies which now fell to my lot. With natural philosophy I was less familiar. I succeeded, however, in putting the apparatus (which had been much neglected) in order, and in giving the class all the illustrations which the subject required. I believe my teaching was considered useful. I also had the opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with my old friend, Dr. Nott.

"About the time of my leaving Boston, Dr. Messer, the President of Brown University, was on the point of resigning. I had been urged to become a candidate for the office. My friends in the vicinity of Boston, especially Dr. Sharp and Dr. Bolles, pressed it. In the course of the autumn Dr. M. resigned. I had now become very pleasantly situated at Schenectady. My feelings, however, turned towards New England, and the hope of doing something for my own denomination had much weight with me. There was some doubt as to the election, as one or two candidates besides myself had been presented. I had but little anxiety about the result, although the uncertainty was annoying. I had left my family for the time in Boston, but I now determined on a day beyond which I would no longer wait in uncertainty, but if nothing decisive occurred previous to that time, I would remove my family and my effects to Schenectady, and would lay aside all thoughts of the other position. Previously to this time, however, I received news of my election. I thereupon resigned my professorship, and returned to Boston, to prepare for the duties of the office to which I had been called."

In February, 1827, he removed permanently to Providence, and entered on his work as President.

CHAPTER IX.

BROWN UNIVERSITY. — THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. — PRINCIPLES OF ACTION. — CHANGES INSTITUTED. — OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED AND OVERCOME. — TRAITS OF CHARACTER EXHIBITED.

AS early as August, 1826, before Mr. Wayland had left Boston, an article on Brown University appeared in a leading journal in Providence, deploring the decadence of the college, urging the imperative necessity of a change in its administration, and indicating Mr. Wayland as a person eminently fitted, by education, experience, and capacity, to preside over the institution. Similar views were expressed, in subsequent articles, in the same journal, and were echoed by prominent newspapers in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. No one of these presses represented the Baptist denomination, but in every case the favorable opinions expressed of Mr. Wayland were founded on the position which he had already reached, as a man of commanding talent, catholic sentiments, and eminent success in the work of education. In all these utterances the newspapers only expressed a feeling which for years had been growing among the friends of the college.

Our readers will remember that Professor Stuart had already intimated that in his judgment a new regime was demanded, and had alluded to the advantages to be secured by giving to Mr. Wayland a voice in the councils of the institution. Moreover, fears were entertained (how justly it is not necessary at this late day to decide) that the religious convictions of President Messer had undergone a marked change, and that his instructions had a manifest tendency towards Unitarianism.

In September, 1826, President Messer resigned, and in December of the same year, Professor Wayland was unanimously elected as his successor. Of the commencement of his career as president of Brown University, Dr. Wayland writes, in his reminiscences, —

> "The condition of the college was not encouraging. The number of undergraduates was small. Discipline had been neglected. Difficulties had arisen between the president and the trustees. and between the president and some members of the Faculty. In point of fact the college had not a high reputation in the community, and probably did not deserve it.
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> "The first business which I undertook was to frame a new set of laws for the college. This, of course, involved the introduction of material changes. It made a vastly greater amount of labor necessary for both officers and students. The design was to render study not a sham, but a reality, and discipline not a form, but a fact. The previous method of recitation by question and answer was abolished, and, except in the teaching of languages, neither officers nor students used a book in the class. Officers were to occupy apartments in college during the day and evening, and were to visit the rooms of students at least twice during the twenty-four hours. Spirituous liquors, which had been commonly in use, were banished from the college premises.* A system of marks was devised, by which a parent could know the standing of his son at the close of every term. Power was given to the president to send away from college any young man whose conduct rendered him an improper associate for his fellow-students, or whose further connection with his class could be of no use to himself or to his friends. The parent was

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* Up to this time it had been the custom to provide wine at the Commencement dinner. Cider was frequently furnished to the students boarding in college commons, and a barrel of ale was always kept on tap in the cellar, to which all undergraduates had free access.

the individual with whom all intercourse respecting the son was carried on, whereas, hitherto, the dealing had been mainly with the pupil himself. In short, obsolete laws and usages were abandoned, and new duties were required of both instructors and students. The design was to render the college a place of real study and improvement; to establish the existence of authority on the part of the officers, and of obedience on the part of the students, but all in the spirit of love and good will. The requirements for admission had been greatly relaxed. These were raised to the standard of New England colleges generally, and it was understood that they would be strictly enforced.

"The laws were enacted at a special meeting of the corporation, after having been approved by the Faculty. The college, under the new arrangements, commenced operations in February, 1827.

"At this time, the beginning of my independent labors as an instructor, I was deeply impressed with the importance of two things: first, of carrying into practice every science which was taught in theory, and secondly, of adapting the course of instruction, as far as possible, to the wants of the whole community. The first seemed to me all-important as a means of intellectual discipline. The abstract principles of a science, if learned merely as disconnected truths, are soon forgotten. If combined with application to matters of actual existence, they will be remembered. Nor is this all. By uniting practice with theory, the mind acquires the habit of acting in obedience to law, and thus is brought into harmony with a universe which is governed by law.

"In the second place, if education is good for one class of the community, it is good for all classes. Not that the same studies are to be pursued by all, but that each one should have the opportunity of pursuing such studies as will be of the greatest advantage to him in the course of life which he has chosen.

"As I have said, I was strongly impressed with these ideas from the commencement. I found myself, however, unable to carry them out in practice. They did not seem either to the Faculty or to the corporation as practical, but rather as visionary. The funds of the college were very small, — hardly more than thirty thousand dollars, — the interest of which, with the avails of tuition, was all the income that we possessed. To adopt and act upon the principles which I have indicated would have imposed upon the Faculty much additional labor, or would have made necessary the appointment of several additional officers of instruction. In the mean time the experiment, if successful, would not become remunerative until its merits had been demonstrated to the community. For this we had no adequate means, and I saw that for the present, at least, the plan was impracticable.

"All that remained was to raise the standard of scholarship in the college, constituted as it then was, and to improve, to the utmost of our power, its discipline and moral character. In this attempt we were all of one mind, and we labored with earnestness and self-forgetful diligence. The result, I think, was such as to give us cause for encouragement. It was the general impression that the character of the students was materially improved. Intemperance and idleness disappeared. It became an honorable distinction to be a hard student. The examination at the close of the first term was decidedly successful. Gentlemen from the city attended in considerable numbers, and expressed themselves delighted with the evident improvement. The students themselves seemed very much gratified. The Senior class, especially, acted a most honorable part, and were the pioneers of the new movement. Among them were several men of fine talents and highly estimable character. They comprehended their position, and responded promptly to all that it required. To themselves the effort was of great service, morally and intellectually. Hon. John H. Clifford, since attorney-general of Massachusetts, and still later governor of that commonwealth, — a member of the class of 1827, — has, on every occasion, referred to his last collegiate year as the foundation of his future eminence, and the commencement of his brilliant career. Whatever honor is awarded to this change in the condition of the college, a large share of it belongs to the graduating class of 1827. The exercises of Commencement were, I believe, unusually satisfactory, and the termination of the first year was regarded as very auspicious.

"In connection with the changes to which I have alluded, it was necessary to establish one principle of importance, namely, that every member of the Faculty should devote his whole time to instruction, and also occupy a room in the college buildings. Previously, several gentlemen had performed some service, at the same time that they lived at home, and were engaged in other avocations; while they received, if I remember correctly, nearly as large compensation as those whose whole time was devoted to instruction. The regular officers were competent to perform all the required duties, and by thus dispensing with outside services, they found their means of subsistence materially increased.

"As would naturally be supposed, changes of this kind could not be made without giving offence to the gentlemen whose connection with the corps of instruction had been of the limited nature already indicated. I think I do not exaggerate when I say that no efforts were spared to break down the new arrangements, and to render odious the person to whose agency they were attributed. Public addresses on other subjects were made to bear upon the recent changes in the college, and to cover them with ridicule. Some of the most influential newspapers were used for the same purpose.

"The first class which entered under the new administration was smaller than usual; I think not more than one half the number of the preceding year. It may be inferred that our affairs looked gloomy. Providence had not at that time more than a fourth of its present population. I was not known to the community, and, I presume, was generally considered a rash and headstrong young man, determined to overthrow the works of my predecessors, and having but little respect for the wisdom of the ancients. As is usual in such cases, the community, which had been thoroughly dissatisfied with the previous condition of the college, and had frequently spoken of it as a disgrace to the city, now that the attempt was made to institute a reform, raised a hue and cry, and readily joined the opposition, doubting whether (granting that reforms were needed) this mode of accomplishing a change were wise. The leading members of the corporation, however, coincided with me in opinion, and, assuring me of their cordial sympathy, advised me to continue fearlessly in the course which I had commenced. I cannot omit to mention the name of one gentleman connected with the corporation to whom I was especially indebted for wise counsel and generous encouragement — the late Thomas P. Ives, a man whose quiet opinion carried more weight than that of any ten men in Providence.

" The effect of all this upon the undergraduates may be easily imagined. The students, after the first excitement had passed, began to feel unaccustomed restraint to be oppressive. They became restless, and it was said that they were encouraged in this state of feeling by those gentlemen who had been obliged, by the recent college regulations, to relinquish their offices as instructors. The Senior class was the focus in which these elements of insubordination concentrated. The members of this class made preparation to leave college in a body, and to enter some other institution. They were very nearly anticipated in this design ; for on an expected contingency, I had decided to dismiss them all without recommendation or certificate of standing. The expected difficulties, however, soon disappeared, for what reason I do not now remember. I never made any reply to the attack which had been made upon my administration. I relied wholly upon the blessing of God promised to every one who disinterestedly endeavors to do his duty.

" When the income of the college was reduced in consequence of the diminished number of the students, my salary was, by my own suggestion I think, made smaller. I much preferred that it should be so. I was not responsible for the continuance of a college in Providence, but I considered myself responsible for the conduct of the college on correct principles so long as it continued. What income I derived from my position was a secondary matter. I could live on the poorest fare and wear the cheapest clothing, but I must and would do what seemed my duty. Having done this, I was not responsible for the result.

" Year after year the number of students increased. A valuable set of apparatus was presented to the college by Messrs. Brown and Ives. A fund of twenty-five thousand dollars was raised for the increase of the library. Students who had graduated under what was called the 'New System,' were appointed to places of instruction as vacancies occurred, and in a few years all moved on as harmoniously as if no other system had ever been known.

In writing of these affairs I have referred mainly to myself, because I am the subject of this narration; but I desire, once for all, to say that I only acted one part in the drama. The other officers of the college aided me with entire unanimity, and disinterested effort, and similar sacrifices. If any marked improvement was made, the credit of that improvement should be shared equally by all."

At the dinner which formed a part of the Centennial Celebration of Brown University, September 6, 1864, Dr. Wayland* alluded to some of the circumstances which attended his entrance on the presidency. Although in some passages he touches upon topics already considered, we are unwilling to destroy the continuity of his remarks by any omissions.

" . . . I was called to the presidency of this college at a time when the corporation supposed that important changes were required in order to promote the best interests of the institution. The college was not deemed to be in a flourishing condition; through whose fault, or whether through the fault of any one, I cannot say, nor have I ever inquired. It is sufficient to remember that such was generally believed to be the fact.

"They wisely determined to commence their reformation with the officers of instruction. None of them, I believe, had previously occupied a room in college, and their influence was, of course, limited almost entirely to their presence in the recitation-room. Several of them were gentlemen engaged in the active duties of professional life, and, except for a few months of the year, had no practical connection with the college. To remedy this state of things, the corporation enacted that every professor in the college should devote himself exclusively to the labor of teaching, and should also occupy a room in the college buildings during the hours appropriated to study. In consequence of this order, we lost the services of some gentlemen, who, as has been said, were only occasionally connected with the college, and the business of teaching devolved wholly on those officers who made education their life work. We were thus enabled to increase materially the salaries of the resident officers. It was, at the same time, distinctly stated that these salaries were given and accepted on the condition that the professors should comply with the enactments just mentioned.

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* President Wayland received the degree of D. D. from Union College in 1827, and from Harvard College in 1829.

"The rooms of these officers were so distributed, that each one had under his special supervision a given number of students, for whose conduct he was considered specially responsible, and whose rooms he was to visit once during the evening, and once, at least, during the day. These visits you all well remember, and very few of you, I presume, do not recollect that occasionally the presence of the officer delivered you from the company of unwelcome visitors, and, perhaps, sometimes saved you from the misfortune of wasting the time of others. I think, in my course of visiting, I rarely found you out of your rooms, except from the very reasonable cause of a failure of memory. The common excuse was, 'I only stepped in a moment, sir, to inquire where the lesson was.' This inquiry was promptly answered, and the student was soon in his own room quietly pursuing his studies.

"It was believed by the corporation that the parents and guardians of youth should, at the close of each term, be made acquainted with the standing of those whom they sent here for education. For this purpose the 'Merit Roll' was established. Every officer took daily notes of the recitation of every student in his class. These notes were averaged at the close of the week; these averages were again averaged at the close of the term, and the result was communicated to the parent, with the regular college bill. Each student thus knew that every recitation would tell upon the account which would meet him on his return, in vacation, to his family and friends.

"It was also determined, that every recitation should be a real trial of strength, and a test of previous diligence. To this end it was enacted that neither professor nor student should ever use a book in the recitation-room, except in those studies where books were absolutely indispensable. The result was, that a knowledge of the subject was so fully acquired, that commonly a large proportion of every class could give, at a final examination, the substance of the whole volume which they had studied during the preceding term.

"To some persons this discipline seemed needlessly severe. It was real and strict, yet kind; the intercourse of well-bred men with each other. The young men became earnest in study, and those who were present when the transition took place, have assured me that during no part of their residence at college were they so happy as after these changes had been inaugurated.

"Under these circumstances we commenced the last term of the college year 1827. The example of the Senior class, which came more immediately under my instruction, was worthy of all praise. They comprehended their position, and knew that on the exemplification of the new system by them depended greatly the future success of the college. Their conduct, both as students and as young gentlemen, was high-minded and exemplary. At the close of the term they greatly distinguished themselves. Of one of them I would like to speak, but his presence bids me forbear. [Referring to Hon. John H. Clifford, who presided on this occasion.] It is enough to say, that he then gave promise of arriving at that eminence to which he has attained.

"It had been said that this was, of all colleges, the easiest to enter and the hardest to leave. This impression, whether it had been true or false, the course adopted by the corporation tended to reverse. They raised at once the requirements for admission to the level of the best colleges in New England, and directed that these requirements should be rigidly enforced. At the same time they made it my duty, whenever a student, from indolence or negligence, was doing good neither to the institution nor to himself, to inform his parents, and desire his immediate removal from the institution.

"It may be supposed that, at first, these regulations led to a diminution of our numbers. The first class which entered after the '*new system*' commenced was small; it graduated, I think, but thirteen. There were croakers in those days, and they predicted the downfall of the college from such new and unwise regulations. For some time it was necessary to reduce our salaries. But we were all in excellent spirits. We did not 'bate a jot of heart or hope, but still bore up and steered right onward.' I well remember a conversation with the late Professor Goddard, now with God, on the subject of our prospects. We both concluded that whether a college existed here or not, was none of our concern. Our duty was, so long as it existed, to make it a *good* college.* The vessel might sink, but, if so, it should sink with all its colors flying; we would strive to make it a place of thorough education, and the cultivation of elevated and noble character."

In the foregoing brief recital of his efforts to improve the character, elevate the scholarship, and increase the educational advantages of Brown University, Dr. Wayland has, with his accustomed modesty, made but slight and incidental allusion to the amount of his own labor. But perhaps no period of his life furnishes more forcible illustration of the salient points of his character than the early years of his presidency. His untiring industry; his close attention to details, where moral principle was involved, or the general welfare of the college was concerned; his determination to discharge fearlessly the duty which lay directly before him; his habit of asking what was right, rather than what seemed, for the time, expedient; his keen and ever-abiding sense of personal responsibility; his exalted standard of excellence in his chosen calling, leading him to be satisfied with nothing short of the highest attainable perfection; his love of exact justice; his scorn of all sham, and of every form of deception; his freedom from anything like pride of opinion; his veneration for truth, in reference to every doctrine which he discussed, impressing a conviction, upon all who heard him, of his courage and his candor; the liberal and catholic spirit with which he approached the consideration of every subject; the strength of his moral convictions and the earnestness of his religious faith; his love for the souls of his pupils, and his intense and all-absorbing desire that the young men intrusted to his charge should be, not only successful scholars, but consistent Christians, — all these qualities found ample exercise and abundant illustration from the commencement to the close of his administration of the affairs of the university.

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* It is worthy of note, that in Dr. Wayland's copy of the Life of Dr. Arnold, — a valued gift from the widow of that distinguished instructor, — the following remark of the master of Rugby School is underscored. "It is *not* necessary that this should be a school of three hundred, or one hundred, or of fifty boys; but it *is* necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen."

In this connection we quote the words of one who, as an undergraduate, was a beloved pupil, and subsequently, as a member of the Faculty, was an intimate and valued friend: —[*]

"He went to Providence at the age of thirty-one, in the prime of his manhood, with an established reputation, with a commanding personal presence, and with a capacity for work, and a habit of industry, that made themselves immediately felt on all with whom he became associated. His views of education, its objects and its methods, were already settled. He had formed a high ideal of what a college ought to be, and of the influence it ought to exert; and though a stranger at Brown, he resolutely set himself about making it conform to this ideal. None but those who witnessed the changes he wrought can fully appreciate what he did for the college in its standard of scholarship, in the tone of its discipline, in the increase of its means of instruction, and in the self-sacrificing spirit which he infused alike into its instructors and its more immediate guardians. Seldom has the head of a college identified himself so fully with all its interests and affairs. He built it up anew, and made it the honored seat of learning it now is. Its departments of instruction were but imperfectly organized, and in addition to his own proper work, he taught whatever there was no one else to teach.[†] For several years he held the reins of discipline entirely in his own hands, and both by day and by night watched over the students with truly parental care. It was his habit to know every one personally; to become acquainted with the character and tendencies of each, and thus be able to caution them against the first wrong step, which, once taken, is sure to cost so much. He seemed to feel responsible for every young man intrusted to his care; and if any one suffered a loss of character, he not only felt the greatest pain, but almost blamed himself. He knew everything that was done, and everything that was left undone, in the whole college; and there is, probably, scarcely one, of his earlier pupils especially, who cannot recall some word of admonition, or some suggestion of encouragement, given precisely at the moment of need by the ever-watchful president. He did not care especially to make the college popular, as it is called; but he labored most earnestly to render it a school of thorough discipline and of sound education. In striving for this, he displayed an ability and devotion that awakened universal admiration. The benefactors and friends of the institution took new courage, and the merchants of Providence, stirred by his appeals on the true uses of wealth, began their contributions for its advancement. During his presidency, and largely through his immediate agency, Manning Hall was erected, the library fund was created, and the library planted on a new basis; Rhode Island Hall and the new president's house were built, the college grounds were enlarged and improved, and the college funds greatly increased. In all this he was not a mere spectator, but an active leader and originator. All his plans, however some of them may be regarded in other respects, were the fruit of liberal and disinterested views, and of a sincere desire to promote the best interests of the college, and to make it as useful as possible to the community."

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[*] Professor William Gammell's obituary notice, in the New York Examiner and Chronicle.

[†] Mrs. Wayland, writing at this time to a sister of her husband, says, "Your brother is well, but constantly occupied. Indeed, he has too much love of work not to be always busy. He never has any leisure, for if others fail in the performance of their duties, he supplies the deficiency by additional labor on his own part."

If we seek to ascertain the cause of the early maturity of his judgment, and his well-defined ideas of education and discipline, we can hardly attach too much importance to the friendly relations, which as pupil and instructor, he had held to Dr. Nott. To have been on terms of intimacy with the president of Union College was of itself an invaluable preparation for the work of a teacher. To learn wisdom from his marvellous knowledge of human nature, to catch inspiration from his electric eloquence, to observe his matchless power of personal influence, and his profound sagacity in dealing with those committed to his care, was of inestimable advantage to one called so early in life to assume the charge of an institution endeared to the denominatior under whose auspices it was founded, and already illustrated by honored names.

Nor should we fail to allude to the influence and example of another instructor. Mention has already been made of the sentiments which Dr. Wayland entertained for Professor Moses Stuart.

But, while recognizing, to the fullest extent, the advantage which the president derived from these sources, justice demands that we should allude to that unconscious preparation for his duties which depended upon his own exertions. His life-long motto, "Whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well," was the key-note to his success in all the departments of labor to which he addressed himself. As tutor and professor in Union College, he had been called upon to give instruction in a great variety of studies. Cheerfully assuming every responsibility which his position imposed upon him, he had endeavored, with conscientious fidelity, to qualify himself for the discharge of all his duties.

Not dreaming of the fields of eminent usefulness for which he was thus preparing himself, he devoted his time to the most thorough preparation for the exercises of the recitation-room. As he was in the habit of saying to his friends, "Nothing can stand before days' works." He avoided every form of social or literary dissipation. He sought the society of persons older and more experienced than himself. He was accustomed, so far as he had the opportunity, to observe carefully the effect which the expressed opinions of those around him had upon their success or failure in life. Writing to a young friend, some years after the commencement of his presidency, he gives the following advice, borrowed, without doubt, from the results of his own experience and observation: —

"You tell me that you are very much alone in your sentiments, both political and religious. This will require good sense in order to wise behavior. I think I should not argue much in the matter. It will make little difference in the state of the nation which way the young gentlemen of the academy think. I should say but little, and think the more. A modest, gentleman-like boy is much more of a man than a great 'argufier.' I do not suppose that your arguments on either side would be very profound. When you are a few years older, it will be time enough to attend to these things. I would not give up what I believed to be right or true. I would hold to my opinions, and let others have theirs. Let them do all the talking. Observe the effect which men's opinions have upon their conduct. This will do you more good, at your present age, than arguing. Always openly avow your opinions, and there let the matter rest."

Again he writes, —

"Let me urge upon you, if you wish to be respected, to be thoroughly master of your studies. I would sit up until midnight, rather than not know them. Never think, 'This will do,' unless it be done as well as you can possibly do it. You will thus acquire the habit of using your faculties to the best advantage, and you will double your intellectual power in a single year. The true way to increase our talents is to employ them to the utmost."

Those familiar with Dr. Wayland's modes of study will not fail to recognize in this last quotation one secret of his success.

And yet with all the self-respect and self-reliance which the consciousness of acting from pure motives could not but engender, there was a distrust of his fitness and capacity to meet the demands of his new position, amounting almost to diffidence. This feeling, and his consequent dependence upon divine Providence for guidance and support, will appear in the following letters, written in February, 1827: —

To his wife: —

"What an eventful year this has been to both of us! It has seen me a pastor, a father, a professor, and the president of a college. In rapid succession new and important duties have devolved upon me, and multiplied interests have been confided to my care, which might well teach a wiser man to tremble. It is my prayer, and I know that it will be yours, that I may become more humble, childlike, and dependent, and may act in every situation as is meet for a Christian and an heir of heaven. This world is all vanity. I feel this more and more. I hope that I may learn to love it less, and to be habitually prepared for another."

To his parents he writes, —

"I need not say that my position here is arduous, difficult, and responsible in no ordinary degree. Much will be expected of me; much must be done, or comparatively little good will be accomplished. Had I sought the office, or had I not believed that divine Providence directed me to it, I should be unhappy, and, I think, discouraged. I know, however, that God never calls us to situations which he will not enable us to fill, if we look to him in humble sincerity. In this frame of mind I desire to go to him for wisdom and guidance. I am aware that the best of all qualifications for this or any other station are moral qualifications; a heart right with God, and a spirit prepared and waiting to obey every command and trust every promise of the Savior. I desire to recognize my reliance upon him for all needed gifts and graces, and I make these remarks now, particularly, in the hope that you will pray for these things in my behalf. I do, indeed, feel that they are what I especially require. If I please God, I am sure that he will order everything aright. He will bless me and make me a blessing. If I do not please him, I know that he will confound all my projects, or else he will cause even my apparent success to result in my destruction."

To the same: —

"I am tired of this wandering life, and hope soon to be settled in my own house. My prospects here, so far as I can discern, are good; but I dare not promise much."

Again he writes to his wife (February 23, 1827), —

"Nothing unfavorable has yet occurred here. God only knows how soon it may come, and he only can prevent it."

To a friend: —

"I am worrying along here, doing what I can; but that is very little."

CHAPTER X.

REMINISCENCES OF GRADUATES. — THE FIRST COMMENCEMENT. — REPORTS OF THE FACULTY TO THE CORPORATION. — DR. WAYLAND'S REVIEW OF HIS METHODS OF INSTRUCTION. — ADDRESS OF HON. B. F. THOMAS. — DR. WAYLAND'S LECTURE-ROOM A PREPARATION FOR LEGAL STUDIES. — HIS INTEREST IN JURISPRUDENCE.

FOR an impartial estimate of the success of Dr. Wayland as an instructor, it may be well to introduce the recollections of gentlemen cognizant of the previous condition of the college, and of the results accomplished under the new administration. A member of the class of 1826,* and a leading scholar of that year, after alluding to the various causes which had conspired to lower the intellectual standard and impair the moral influence of the institution, says, —

"Such were some of the circumstances under which President Wayland commenced his official duties at Brown University. But unpromising as these circumstances were in one point of view, they were in another aspect quite favorable, if rightly used, for the inauguration of a new administration. There was room for great improvement, and the friends of the college were ready to second every suggestion which seemed adapted to that end. The reputation of Dr. Wayland had preceded him. His missionary sermon had gained for him a wide celebrity, and had prepared the way for a most effective influence in moulding the characters of young men. The plans which he adopted and carried into full effect, were minute, exact, and thorough. They were, moreover, as comprehensive as the limited time and resources at the disposal of most of the students would allow. Order, discipline, and study took their appropriate place, and it was soon found that a new *régime* had commenced.

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* Hon. John Kingsbury, LL. D., late commissioner of public schools for Rhode Island.

"The larger part of the pupils not only acquiesced in the change, but rejoiced in its beneficial results. There are now living men in high positions who ascribe their success in life to the influence of President Wayland in recalling them from the worse than waste of their time, and inciting them to assert their manhood by a different course of conduct. The favorable change in college, consequent upon President Wayland's induction into office, was very happily illustrated at prayers in the college chapel. Previous to his coming, this occasion had been usually selected by students to show their insubordination. All this soon passed away, and an attentive and serious demeanor was manifest. So great was the change, that it was not an uncommon thing to answer the inquiry of former graduates in respect to the success of Dr. Wayland, by introducing them to chapel at the hour of college prayers. No one came away without acknowledging that he had received a satisfactory answer."

Hon. John H. Clifford writes, —

"You are aware that when Dr. Wayland assumed the presidency of the college, my class (1827) had nearly completed its course. We enjoyed, therefore, a smaller measure of his invaluable instructions than our successors. Yet the single year of our intercourse with him was worth more to us than all the previous years of our connection with the university.

"He found us, when he came, drifting through the most perilous part of the voyage of life without rudder or compass, and with a reasonable prospect of making shipwreck of the precious freight with which we were laden. The disorganized, almost chaotic state of the college, the government a sort of *locum tenens*, without authority and devoid of discipline, and the undergraduates destitute of high aims and aspirations, — all this presented a dismal prospect to one who felt, as he did, the full weight of the burden he had assumed. Fortunately for us, Dr. Wayland was endowed with precisely the qualities to enable him successfully to encounter this condition of things, to the discouragements of which most men would have succumbed in helpless despondency. He took the helm with a firm but parental hand, and piloted us safely through the perils to which we were exposed. He possessed a degree of personal magnetism unsurpassed by any one I have ever known. And although an apparent severity of discipline was indispensable to a successful administration of the duties of his office, the great quality of justice was so conspicuous in all that he did and in all that he said, that we were all in his hands 'like clay in the hands of the potter.' It is due to him, under God, that some of us were saved from being 'fashioned into vessels of dishonor,' to which, at that time, we seemed to be predestined. So complete was the moral revolution which he effected, that the class of 1827 became at once, from the unpromising materials which I have described, most enthusiastic in the support of his policy, and took an especial pride in the designation which he gave us of 'Pioneers of the New System.'

"Instead of contenting himself with a mere personal oversight of the police and economics of the institution, he assumed at once, in addition to these sufficiently onerous duties, the arduous labors of a teacher in the highest departments of science. And here, in the recitation and lecture room, his power was unequalled. He entered it, as he required the students to enter it, without text-books; his purpose being to instruct his class not merely in the contents of the volumes which treated of the science, but in the science itself, in the teaching of which he regarded the text-books but as auxiliaries. Indeed, his own oral instruction, independent of the accepted treatises in use at that period, was so much more copious and exhaustive than the books themselves, that in a few years it was elaborated into volumes of higher authority for students, superseding the older text-books upon the same subjects. It was quickly perceived by us that he was, in truth, the 'master,' and far in advance of the books from which he taught. This was one great source of the new spirit with which he inspired his pupils, namely, that he was thoroughly the master of his subject, and not a mere conduit of another man's thoughts.

"Moral and intellectual philosophy, rhetoric, criticism, and political economy were the departments of instruction to which he addressed himself. To these he required the student to apply a rigid system of analysis. This he regarded as the great means of intellectual discipline, and the only mode of enabling the pupil to acquire the power of self-culture. His theory was, that the college curriculum was not designed primarily to make learned men, but to train and invigorate the intellectual powers, and thereby prepare the students for their efficient exercise in the acquisition of knowledge upon any subject to which he might devote himself for the work of life.

"This brief retrospect of a turning period of my own life revives so many associations that are precious to me, that I could go on until your patience was wearied with my reminiscences of one whose memory I shall never cease to love and honor."

Another member * of the first class that graduated under Dr. Wayland contributes the following reminiscences:—

"The new system introduced by Dr. Wayland was the exact antipode of that which it displaced. It was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and yet sufficiently original to be correctly called 'Wayland's.' The excitement throughout the college and the town was great. The change was believed by many to be too sudden and too radical. As the man addicted to lying was advised to speak the truth and discontinue his old habit gradually, for fear of too severe a shock to his moral nature, so it was thought by some that the prompt abandonment of the old routine and the introduction of new measures would prove injurious to the interests of the university.

"The first Senior class that came under his immediate charge was charmed with him and with his 'new system.' Any member of the class of 1827 will gladly testify that the last year of his college life was worth all the other three. Dr. Wayland may have been disturbed by the opposition which he encountered in certain quarters, but I never detected any outward manifestation of it. He

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* Hon. Charles Thurber.

quietly pursued the even tenor of his way, and before the callow Freshman became the dignified Senior, he thought himself much more fortunate than the members of the upper classes, in that all his four years were moulded by the hand of Wayland. Although, as I have already intimated, there was some outside opposition to the change in the discipline and mode of instruction, I do not believe that a single individual was disaffected to the altered condition of affairs when he saw and understood its actual workings.

"I am satisfied that no one who candidly examines and rightly comprehends what a revolution was effected by Dr. Wayland, can fail to be amazed at the wonderful executive ability of the thorough and self-sacrificing author of such great improvements in college education. Indeed, I think Dr. Wayland entered upon the presidency of the college at a time when to discharge its duties faithfully and efficiently required more nerve and courage and greater capacity than had been required at any previous period in its history, or perhaps than will be required at any time in its future career.

"The management of the college library had been singularly devoid of system, and by no means adapted to the wants or conducive to the convenience of students. I do not believe that one quarter of the undergraduates derived any considerable benefit from it. It was kept in one of the projection rooms of University Hall, and was almost a *terra incognita* to many of the students. A member of the Junior class once informed me that he had never taken a book from the library, and had been in the room but once. What Dr. Wayland accomplished for this department of college education is already well known to all the friends of the university.

"Commencement dinners were at this time dinners merely. No speeches were made, and graduates lingered over the wine, which was always furnished. I need not say that all this was soon changed. Again, physical training had never been thought of or alluded to. Our attention was called to this important department of education immediately after Dr. Wayland's induction into office.

"Heretofore, members of the Faculty had not been required to spend any portion of term time, excepting during recitation, within the walls of the university; but the new system made it a *sine qua non* that every officer of the institution should have a room in college, and be there every day during certain prescribed hours. To this was added the duty of regularly visiting the rooms of the students.

"Theatre-going was prohibited, and a late supper was no longer considered a valid excuse for an imperfect preparation for a recitation. Fixed hours for study became the rule rather than the exception, and indeed it was soon evident to all, that the requisite preparation for the recitation-room could not be made without careful and conscientious study. Up to this time we had always been accustomed to carry all our text-books with us into recitation. When we were compelled to leave these behind, we were of course deprived of the aid which an occasional glance into our books had formerly furnished. And in addition to this, that utter stranger to us, an exact analysis of the lesson, now required, made it a still harder task to deceive our instructors and wrong ourselves. Still, although all this increased our labors, I am satisfied that we were grateful for the addition to our burdens."

Another graduate, who was a pupil of Dr. Wayland during the early years of his presidency, writes as follows: —

"When President Wayland assumed the charge of Brown University, discipline was lax. In fact, the students did pretty much as they pleased. Instruction was entirely from text-books. These were used in recitation, always by teachers, and often by pupils, and were closely followed.* Officers were not required to occupy apartments in the college buildings, and the rooms of the undergraduates were almost never visited by members of the

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* It is related that one of the instructors of this period was accustomed to have the text-book open before him, and, as the student recited, to move his finger along the lines, striving to keep pace with the progress of the pupil. From time to time, as the recitation of the student outstripped the reading of the professor, he would look up — keeping his finger at the point which had been reached — and say, in a tone of mild reproof, "Not so fast; not quite so fast."

Faculty. There was no such thing as discussion in the class-room; recitation was only an exercise of the memory.

"But with the administration of Dr. Wayland all this was changed. The non-residence of officers was abolished. Every instructor was required to occupy a room in the college buildings, and to visit the students every day. Strict discipline was enforced, and the idea inculcated that young gentlemen came to college to study, and that all other considerations must be subordinated to that purpose.

"The personal example and influence of Dr. Wayland at once infused a new spirit into the university. The power of a great mind, and the energy of a controlling will, were immediately felt. He taught without a text-book, encouraged discussion and inquiry, introduced the important element of analysis, and imparted a novel interest to every recitation which he conducted.

"Improvement in the discipline of the university marked a new era in the life of the institution. The president spent in the college all the hours appropriated to study, and made daily visits to the rooms in his division. It was soon understood that a college usage, or tradition, could not be pleaded as an excuse for the violation of established rules. Raids upon adjacent gardens and poultry-yards were no longer tolerated. Disturbances of the quiet and order of the college premises were prohibited and punished. The students ceased to be a nuisance to the neighborhood, and began to appreciate the high duties and grave responsibilities of their position."

All these changes and reforms commenced with the new administration of affairs. It was evident that Dr. Wayland had a distinct and clearly-defined idea of what a college should be, and could be made, and he did not delay an instant to apply to his theory the test of practice.

There was no mild and moderate transition from lax discipline and unchecked license to strict enforcement of law. The reins of government were not loosely held in hesitating hands. There was no early adoption of temporizing expedients, to be succeeded in due time, and when the safe moment arrived, by bolder and more vigorous measures. The reform was instant and radical. President Wayland had not been in his new office twenty-four hours before it was apparent to everybody that a new *régime* was already instituted.

It cannot be denied that this sudden change in the discipline and mode of instruction awakened opposition among some of the students; but it was confined to those who, from indolence, indifference, or perversity, were indisposed to improve their advantages, and their connection with the college was soon dissolved.

The prevailing feeling was pride in the ability, and respect for the zeal and enthusiasm, of the new president. The fresh stimulus given to study, and the new interest imparted to the exercises of the recitation-room, were most manifest. Especially was this true of the branches in which instruction was given by the president. The fact that he invited, and even urged, free discussion on all subjects germane to the topic under consideration, the lively interest which he displayed in the mental improvement of all his pupils, the wealth of illustration with which he enriched his teachings, — all these quickened the intellects and sharpened the faculties of the student.

As has already been stated, Dr. Wayland spent in his room in the college all the hours assigned for study. It should be added, that he rarely left his study before ten o'clock P. M. For years he invariably conducted two daily recitations, and often more. He frequently supplied the place of any officer, who, from sickness, or absence, or any cause, was unable to attend to his classes. He gave instruction, as it became necessary, from time to time, in the ancient languages, in rhetoric and the natural sciences. During the Junior and Senior years of 1829 and 1830, he taught Campbell's Rhetoric, Kames' Elements of Criticism, Physiology, Stewart's Mental Philosophy, and Paley's Moral Science. The exercises of Commencement by the graduating class of 1827 were pronounced by the public journals of Providence "an occasion of unusual interest," and the audience was said to be "larger than at any previous Commencement."

The editor of a leading newspaper in New York city, writing from Providence at this time, says, —

> "For a number of years past, Brown University has seemed to be somewhat on the decline. Its affairs languished until last autumn, when,
>
> 'Discipline at length,
> O'erlooked and unemployed, fell sick and died.'
>
> The consequence was a change in its head, and a speedy and thorough revolution in its affairs. The course of studies prescribed under the new *régime* was such as to raise the requirements of the institution to as high a standard as any other; and a code of laws was formed and adopted by the Faculty, which, it is believed, may be considered a model for the government of academic institutions. The salaries of the acting professors have been increased, and the non-resident professors, whose places were little more than sinecures, have been dispensed with.
>
> "Arrangements are also making to add to the studies already prescribed, a course of popular instruction in English and the modern languages of Europe. In fine, under the administration of President Wayland and his able assistants, it is believed that the reformation has been such, that the university will assume a proud rank among those of greater age and more richly endowed."

Additional evidence of the increased prosperity of the college, under the new administration, is contained in official documents.

At the annual meeting of the corporation of Brown University held September 30, 1829, President Wayland, in behalf of the Faculty, presented a report embodying the results of their observation and experience as instructors during the two preceding years. The report specified the studies pursued by each of the classes for the past year, alluded to the recent alterations made in the course of instruction, described the condition of the several departments, and recommended an important change in reference to vacations. The president deprecated long vacations, as tending to dissipate the mind of the pupil, and as interfering materially with the true objects of a college. He urged the importance of devoting the winter months to study, contending that the design of affording facilities to the students to teach school during this portion of the year was inconsistent with the duty imposed upon the Faculty of devoting to collegiate exercises those months in which study could be most profitably pursued. He alluded to the fact that no regular annual appropriation had ever been made for the purchase of books for the college library, and recommended that definite and stated provision should be made for this object. He further reported that several important branches of instruction, including the Evidences of Revelation, and Political Economy, had been added to the collegiate course of study, and, generally, that every effort had been made to give to the pupils largely increased educational advantages.

The whole report furnished abundant evidence that the president would be satisfied with nothing less than the adoption of such measures as should put the university on an equality with the foremost institutions in the land.

In the report of the Faculty, presented to the corporation at its annual meeting in September, 1830, due prominence is given to the fact that "the behavior of the young gentlemen of the college has been, during the past year, in the highest degree commendable. Very few instances requiring the exercise of discipline have occurred." After alluding to the manner in which instruction had been given in the various departments of learning embraced in the college curriculum, the president adverts to the principles which have governed him in the discharge of his own duties.

This part of the report presents so tersely and truth-fully his views as to the mode in which instruction should be imparted in the recitation-room, that we make no apology for quoting the passage without abridgment.

"I have endeavored to teach, not any particular book, but the science itself of which the text-book has treated. I have aimed, so far as I have been able, to determine the nature and objects of the science, its elementary principles, and the order in which they should be presented to the mind. This knowledge, thus, as I have hoped, simplified, and more completely analyzed, I have desired to communicate to the pupil. The text-book has been used to invite and stimulate inquiry, rather than to repress it.

"In conducting the recitations of my class, I seek to inculcate the necessity of the greatest exactitude of knowledge in all that belongs to definitions and general principles. With this in view, I accustom them to extemporaneous illustration of every principle of importance. When I differ from the author, I give my reasons. I endeavor to show where his doctrines are false, or where they require to be limited or extended. I encourage free discussion on every important subject, either in the lesson, or connected with it; always asking my class, after a series of remarks, or after a lecture, whether they wish to make any inquiries or to urge any objections. Of this privilege they always avail themselves; nor have I, except in a very few, and those very trifling instances, seen it abused. It has been my desire to render the recitation-room attractive, not merely by the communication of knowledge, but by exciting inquiry and eliciting talent; by giving exercise to logical acuteness, and refinement to moral sentiment. I am aware how imperfect has been my success in this important work. I speak rather of what I have desired, than of what I have accomplished. In connection with this daily course of study, I have accustomed my class to continual review from the beginning of the work. In this manner the relation of the principles already acquired to those which may hereafter be presented, is easily discovered; and the whole science may thus, at any moment, be surveyed in totality as well as in detail. I have aimed so to conduct this exercise, that a pupil, at any period of his study, can easily recall, from the commencement, the outline of the whole, so far as he has proceeded.

"In addition to the daily discussions of the recitation-room, I have delivered a series of lectures on the Elements of Political Economy, another on the Principles of Rhetoric, several lectures on Intellectual Philosophy, and a brief course upon the General Principles of Animal Physiology."

It is surely not surprising that such constant and conscientious discharge of duty should have been crowned with unequivocal success; and we feel confident that the president was warranted in closing this interesting report with these words of good cheer to every friend of the university: —

"I have endeavored to present to the corporation a plain and intelligible account of the objects which the Faculty have kept in view during the past year, and the manner in which they have sought to attain them. With gratitude to God, we are enabled to entertain the pleasing conviction that our labor has not been in vain. We believe that we can discern visible improvement in intellectual power and mental discipline, since the date of our last report, in every class under our charge."

President Wayland adhered to the mode of imparting instruction, just described, until his connection with the college terminated. Not long before his death, on a thoughtful review of his experience as a teacher, he deliberately recorded his conviction that his system of instruction had been correct in its principles, and serviceable to both teacher and pupil. We quote from his reminiscences: —

"As so long a portion of my life, and that portion in which I have been known most widely to the world, has been spent in the labor of instruction, it may be well for me to record briefly the principles by which I have been guided in the discharge of this part of my duty. Very much that I have done is, of course, wholly forgotten, and I can only refer to those general rules of action which occur to me as I endeavor to look back upon the past

Many of the events of my life, already alluded to in these reminiscences, I have not recalled even so often as once in twenty-five years or more. Much that might have been of interest has faded from my memory. I have no documents to consult, and I may possibly have erred in my recollection. I think, however, that I have no reason to remember what did not occur, and that, therefore, my memory may be considered trustworthy.

"I may here observe that I have never considered myself, in any manner, peculiarly adapted to the work of an instructor. It seemed my duty to undertake the labor, and I honestly attempted to discharge that duty as well as I knew how. When, however, I compare myself with Pestalozzi, Dr. Arnold, and other teachers, who have apparently been endowed with every faculty needed for their calling, and animated with an intense love for it, I am compelled to feel and confess my vast deficiency. If this remark shall provoke the inquiry, 'For what, then, were you intended?' I am really unable to answer it. I do not know that I have ever had any special predilection for any one pursuit. I had promising prospects as a physician, and, when young, was fond of natural science. My position as a clergyman was above mediocrity. I labored with some success as an instructor; but the station upon which I have ever looked with peculiar admiration and reverence is that of an able and upright judge.*

"With reference to teaching, I may say, in general terms, that my governing principles were few. I suppose that everything that is to be taught may be resolved into certain elementary truths. These are usually simple, and if presented in a simple form, may be easily apprehended by persons of sufficient age and common understanding. I say of sufficient age, for the mind, at successive periods of its growth, makes distinct progress in its power of comprehending abstract truth. It can be taught merely to remember the way in which an idea is expressed, without any knowledge of the idea itself. To such an extent is this true, that I have known a young person to receive a truth, which he has not been able heretofore to comprehend, as an entire novelty, when in fact it was the very same truth, the expression of which, in words, he had committed to memory several years before.

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* Writing, in 1856, to his friend Hon. Ellis Lewis, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Dr. Wayland says, "The only position the world could offer me, which I have thought I should like, is that of a judge of a court whose decisions involved grave questions of right."

"But to return: I endeavored always to understand, for myself, whatever I attempted to teach. By this I mean that I was never satisfied with the text, unless I saw for myself, as well as I was able, that the text was true. Pursuing this course, I was led to observe the principles or general truths on which the treatise was founded. As I considered these, they readily arranged themselves in a natural order of connection and dependence. I do not wish to be understood as asserting that I did this with every text-book before I began to use it in my class. I generally taught these subjects during a single year. Before I had thought through one subject, I was called upon to commence another. Yet, with every year, I made some progress in all. I prepared lectures on particular subjects, and thus fixed in my mind the ideas which I had acquired, for use during the next year. The same process continued year by year, and in this manner, almost before I was aware of it, I had completed an entire course of lectures. In process of time I was thus enabled to teach by lecture all the subjects which I began to teach from text-books.

"I have always aimed, as I have already intimated, not only to understand a subject for myself, but to make my pupils understand it. There need be no difficulty in detecting by the expression of a listener's eye whether he catches and understands the idea which the instructor seeks to communicate. If I saw that what I said was not comprehended, I repeated and illustrated until I was convinced that I had succeeded. I also caused it to be understood that our subject was one in which they and I were equally interested. Therefore I not only allowed, but encouraged, my pupils to ask questions with reference to any portion of the lesson recited, or of the lecture delivered. They very soon began to avail themselves of this privilege. Pursuing this method, our recitations consisted not merely of the repeating of passages from the text-book, or answering questions framed from the text-book by the teacher, but were really animated discussions on the subjects under consideration. From this course I derived great benefit, in common with the class. The students were stimulated to a considerable degree by the consciousness that they were independent seekers after truth. I rarely passed through such a discussion without great advantage. Sometimes I was convinced that I had been in error. At other times I became satisfied that I had presented the idea obscurely, or without proper limitations or sufficient generalization. It not unfrequently happened that when the subject under consideration was especially interesting or important, two or three days were consumed upon a single lesson.

"It may be said that this method is liable to abuse. This is undoubtedly true: I have seen it abused. Young men would now and then ask frivolous questions from thoughtlessness. At other times, by collusion among themselves, they would ask questions with the design of arresting the progress of the recitation, when their friends, who were unprepared, were in danger of being exposed. This, however, may be easily prevented by an instructor. It is only necessary to answer a fool according to his folly, in order to make the experiment too dangerous to be repeated.

"There were two other modes of giving instruction, to which I adhered, which were, in my opinion, of essential service to my pupils — they were analysis and review. As to the former, our practice was, in all recitations from text-books, to accustom the student to make out the analysis, skeleton, or plan of the lesson to be recited. He was expected to commence, and, without question or assistance, to proceed in his recitation as long as might be required. The next who was called upon took up the passage where his predecessor left it; and thus it continued (except as there was interruption by inquiry or explanation) until the close. It is, of course, understood that the knowledge of the instructor enabled him to correct any error, and suggest any deficiency or inaccuracy in the analysis. It was also customary to commence the recitation by calling on some one to give the entire analysis of the lesson. Every one was expected to be able to do this, as it was a regular part of the daily exercise. This practice, introduced at the beginning of a term, became very easy before the next vacation; and to be able to give an exact and distinct analysis of a lesson was made a special mark of good scholarship. In general, no man could do it well who was not a clear-headed and diligent student.

"The advantages of this mode of study I have supposed to be several. Whether a similar plan is adopted in other colleges, I have no means of knowing. My first experience of it was while in Union College, under Dr. Nott. I have observed that students, coming to Brown University from other colleges, have spoken of it as new to them.

"This mode of recitation is of advantage to the instructor. When he conducts an exercise of this kind, and such a knowledge of the subject is required of the pupil, he is compelled, unless he is willing to lose the respect of his class, to be himself thoroughly prepared. He must (no matter how often he uses the same text-book) take pains to qualify himself for every recitation. This will impart a deeper interest to the subject; will, from time to time, restore its freshness; and in this manner, a recitation, instead of being a bore, will become an agreeable and improving exercise.

"It may be objected that this is imposing unnecessary labor upon an instructor. It certainly calls for additional, but by no means unnecessary, labor. Without intellectual exertion, a teacher is in danger of wearing out and becoming a mere machine. An indolent teacher will soon degenerate into a very stupid man. His pupils will discover this, and in almost every class some of his students will, by common consent, be considered superior to their instructor. Such a change of relations can only be prevented by the absolute prohibition of all inquiry. This expedient will inevitably render the recitation a dull formality, irksome to both parties, until it becomes a contemptible mode of spending time under the guise of instruction.

"To the student, also, the advantages are no less obvious. He is obliged, in preparing in this manner for a recitation, to make himself master of each daily lesson. More than this, he *knows* that he has mastered it. He can lay aside his book, go through the analysis by himself, and then take up and complete the train of thought, not using, with servile exactness, the language of the author, but in his own words. When called upon to recite in the presence of his class, he knows that he understands his subject, and soon learns, with confidence, to give expression to the ideas of which he has possessed himself. Not until he can do this is he prepared for recitation. It soon becomes a matter of emulation in a class for a student to recite with accuracy, in good language, and in such a manner as to interest his fellows. Indeed, I have rarely taught a class which could not furnish two or three members whose recitations were listened to with evident gratification by all their auditors.

"The effect of such an exercise in cultivating ease of delivery, and in promoting the power of extemporaneous speech, is manifest. He who has thus learned to prepare himself on a given subject, and then to express himself in the presence of his instructor and his classmates, has laid the foundation of success as a public speaker. Nor is this all. Let a young man accustom himself to frame a careful and correct analysis of what he is about to recite, and resolve never to speak or compose until this analysis is completed, and he will have made decided progress in mental discipline. He who has learned never to address his fellow-men, either orally or by written language, without forming a definite plan which shall tend to produce a particular effect, has acquired a most valuable habit. By pursuing this course habitually, he will soon be able to continue it with scarcely a perceptible effort. In fact, he will find it so much easier to use his mind in this way than in any other, that he will soon do it spontaneously, even while he is commencing an unpremeditated address. Instructors in law schools, and lawyers in the preparation of their arguments, have frequently referred to this method of study as of essential service to them. I have been told that a late distinguished professor in the law school at Cambridge was accustomed to say that he could at once distinguish a graduate of Brown University by the facility with which he was able to analyze a lecture or a legal argument. The power which this practice would naturally give to a clergyman in constructing a train of thought for the pulpit is apparent.

"Accompanying the habit of analyzing every lesson, and making this analysis a distinct feature of the recitation, was that of frequent review. It was my custom in the class-room to require, first of all, the lesson of the previous day, whether that consisted of a lecture or a portion of a text-book. This fixed every lesson in the mind of the pupil. As we advanced, I would begin the book, and call for the analysis of several portions of what we had gone over. When we had overtaken our advance, we commenced anew from the beginning. In this manner we were enabled to review the whole book frequently during the course of a single term, thus strengthening materially the habit of generalization.

"The result of this training was, that all the best scholars of a class could, without prompting, go through the entire book which they had studied, at the first examination. The more moderate scholars would do the same with little prompting. No man, however, would make any claim to good scholarship who could not readily do it. At examinations, the chapters or sections of the text-book were written on separate slips of paper, and drawn out for every student by lot. The time occupied in examining a pupil was allowed to the one who was to follow, for the purpose of recollection. An exercise conducted in this manner would proceed for three hours, and if the class were a good one, a failure would rarely occur. If a student were unable to proceed, he was allowed to draw again, and thus often recovered his standing.

"I am satisfied that nothing enabled me to escape the danger of mental indolence and stagnation to which I have already alluded, but the manner of conducting recitations which I have described (in distinction from the more usual mode of question and answer), and the habit of lecturing from time to time on every portion of the text-book. By adhering to these practices I was soon able to form text-books for myself, and amidst constant attention to details, and the incessant interruptions consequent upon my office, to make, year by year, as I hope, some progress.

"So far as the student is concerned, it can hardly be denied that there are manifest advantages in such a mode of giving instruction. If the object of the teacher be to impart knowledge, and to fix it in the mind of the pupil, certainly this object can be more successfully accomplished in this way than in any other. Nothing tends more surely to implant knowledge in the mind. If the object be the cultivation of the mental powers, by daily effort and by comparing the relation of various truths with each other, this will be most certainly attained by uniting the view of the whole subject with perfectly free discussions in the class-room. The object of an education is not, as many parents would seem to believe, to get a student through college by going over a certain number of books, but to impart knowledge which shall be remembered, and to increase the intellectual capacity of the pupil by habitually calling into exercise as many of his powers and faculties as the circumstances of the case will permit."

Many graduates of Brown University have, in subsequent life, borne their testimony to the value of this system of instruction. Upon the occasion of Dr. Wayland's resignation of the presidency, Hon. B. F. Thomas, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, thus addressed the retiring president, in presence and in behalf of his assembled pupils; —

"I rise, Mr. President, for the discharge of a painful and yet a grateful duty. The alumni of the university, having heard of your resignation of the office you have so long held with signal honor to yourself and signal advantage to her, met yesterday to give utterance to the feelings which that event awakened. They passed resolutions (would they were worthier) expressing their sense of the value of your services to the college, and of the loss she had sustained by your retirement. They instructed their committee (Governor Clifford, of New Bedford, Hon. Mr. Bradley, of this city, and myself) to present these resolutions to you to-day, the last time we shall have the pleasure of meeting you in this near and interesting relation.

"It is but little to say, that these resolutions were passed unanimously, — there was but one mind and one heart in the assembly, and that mind and heart were but one, — for the calmest result of the judgment was in harmony with the warmest feelings of the heart. We did not, however, forget that we were speaking of and to the living, and in avoiding what may be said to be the natural warmth of eulogy, — that, we trust, far distant service to come from the trembling lips of some later pupils, -- we may have assumed a tone too subdued.

"One of these resolutions comes from those whose privilege it was to have been your immediate pupils. Of that resolution, as one of the earlier of those pupils, I will say a word. I should be sorry if I thought myself capable of making a formal speech in an hour like this. You are, Mr. President, too largely my creditor for me to judge calmly and wisely. I cannot pay the debt. I do not ask you to forgive it. I can and will confess it. More than twenty years ago it ripened into a judgment, and yet no lapse of time will bar it. Hundreds around you owe the like debt. It grows ever. It is an investment for all time. If you see in it, as I know you do, the true riches, more than the wealth of an Astor is yours. Its bonds are stronger than those of the railroad, its pulse is quicker than that of the telegraph. It is the tribute of loving hearts. It is the debt of filial gratitude.

"I came here to-day, Mr. President, to say now what I have often said at home and to my own pupils, and what this seems to me a fitting occasion to say more publicly.

"It has been my privilege for three years to be your pupil. I have seen and have had other eminent masters: Joseph Story, whose name is identified with the jurisprudence of his country; John Hooker Ashmun, who, an invalid for years, and dying at the early age of thirty-three, as a lawyer left behind him no superior in Massachusetts, whose mind had the point of the diamond and the clearness of its waters; Pliny Merrick, who graces the bench on which I have the honor to sit, but of whom my near relation to him forbids me to speak as I would. A quarter of a century has passed since I left these walls with your blessing. I have seen something of men and of the world since. I esteem it to-day the happiest event of my life that brought me here, the best gift of an ever-kind Providence to me, that I was permitted for three years to sit at the feet of your instruction.

"Others may speak and think of the writer and scholar, my tribute is to the great teacher; and he is not the great teacher who fills the mind of his pupil from the affluence of his learning, or works most for him, but who has the rarer faculty of drawing out and developing the mind of another, and making him *work for himself.* Rarest of all God's gifts to men. Great statesmen, great orators, great jurists, are successful and useful in the degree that they are great teachers. Office of unequalled dignity and worth, — even our divine Lord and Master we call the 'Great Teacher.'

"Mr. President, if I have acquired any consideration in my own beloved commonwealth, if I have worthily won any honor, I can and do, with a grateful heart, bring them to-day and lay them at your feet — *Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.*"

Another graduate * has observed, —

"To those designing to enter the legal profession, his instructions were invaluable. This is the uniform testimony of every one of his graduates who has since distinguished himself at the bar. The singular rapidity with which he seized upon the strong points of whatever subject was under discussion in the class-room, the tenacity with which he held all the disputants to the precise issue, brushing aside the rubbish of irrelevant and inapposite details, and obliging the pupil to deal with the vital principles which lay at the foundation of the immediate topic under consideration, and, above all, the constant habit of exact and exhaustive analysis which he counselled and even compelled the pupil to pursue, — all this was an admirable preparation for the profitable study and successful practice of the law."

It may not be inappropriate to allude, in this connection, to the interest which Dr. Wayland always manifested in the science of jurisprudence, and his earnest desire that those of his pupils who entered upon the legal profession should be guided by high-minded and generous views of duty. Writing to a young friend and pupil, who had recently commenced the practice of the law, he says, —

"If you are in 'the full tide of successful experiment,' you must beware that nothing interferes with its legitimate result. Prosperity renders weak men careless, and strong men more careful. Old Jeremiah Mason was as exact and cautious in the height of his reputation as when he was a young practitioner. It must be so with every man who would arrive at eminence. The higher a lawyer rises, the abler are his competitors, and the greater need he has of the full exercise of all his powers. Nothing can exceed the intensity of mental action necessary to the discharge of the duty of an eminent practitioner in Westminster Hall. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of other places. You remember the dialogue between George the Third, I think, and the elder Pitt. 'Mr. Pitt, deserve my confidence, and you shall have it.' 'Sir, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it.' The king had the best of it. It is so with the public. If a man deserve confidence, he is sure, sooner or later, to have it."

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* Hon. C. S. Bradley, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island.

To the same: —

"I am not sorry that you have perplexing cases, for thus only can you learn to manage them. Always seek to find the governing principle which underlies them, and then every case you determine settles the rule for a class. As these rules multiply, you will discover that the perplexities diminish in number, and soon, what would puzzle another will be easy for you.

"I am glad that you are applying yourself closely to the law, and that you are diversifying it with the classics. Read over and over again the best passages, and, if you please, commit them to memory. You will soon find that such knowledge will place you in a different class from those who do not possess it. It will serve, moreover, to enlarge your range of illustration, and to give energy to your thoughts. This will be vastly more profitable than spending your time in amusement. In the one case, you are laying the foundations for future professional success; in the other, you are pulverizing the very stones. But, above all, establish rules for study. In no other way can you have any just notion of the value of time. If time be used miscellaneously, and no task be assigned for every day and hour, it will glide away, — no one knows how, — and with no practical result. The only way to eminence is to love labor, or, at the least, to be perfectly willing to expend all the labor necessary to accomplish a given object. Besides, we can never govern others until we have learned to govern ourselves.

"I am glad to hear that you are devoting your evenings to the law. Every evening's study squares, or helps to square, a stone which you may lay aside to put in the building whenever a client gives you an invitation. I would always keep this idea in mind. Study with an object, that is, with a distinct point or principle in view. As fast as you settle a principle, pause and frame, or discover, a case to which it will apply. Make your notes and references, and pass on to another. Thus, day by day, you will be able to mark your progress, and to say, 'I am prepared to-day on what I did not know yesterday.' The real cases will come along in due time, and you will discover that you are ready to meet them."

To another pupil: —

"Leave nothing to chance. Remember that the smallest amount of labor necessary to do anything, is all the time and labor necessary to do it well. You may sometimes find yourself not so thoroughly prepared as you could wish, but you ought always to be able to say, 'I did all that I could to deserve success.' Always do as well as you can, and you will do better every day."

In the opinion of Dr. Wayland, the high-minded and conscientious lawyer has it in his power greatly to promote the welfare of civil society. For the low cunning of the pettifogger he had an abhorrence which he never sought to conceal. He urged upon all his pupils, who designed to enter the legal profession, the importance of placing before themselves an elevated standard of excellence, seeking always to establish correct general principles, never being satisfied with simply carrying a point, but aiming rather to secure a result in harmony with sound jurisprudence. He would say, —

"Do not accept any recognized doctrine for no better reason than that it has the authority of decided cases, nor keep in view only the facts of the particular question under consideration. This was the weak point of Lord Eldon. Examine the precedents carefully, and see if they rest on the principles of eternal justice. If you believe them to be wrong, labor to refute the fallacious reasoning, and contend earnestly for what is right and true. Do your work in a manly, straightforward manner, remembering that your business is not to gain, by any means, a victory over an opposing counsel, but to settle the matter in dispute in the fear of God and for the good of man." *

Those who were familiar with the favorite studies of Dr. Wayland will not need to be reminded that, while the biographies of men distinguished in all the departments of art, science, and literature, or devoted to practical philanthropy, had for him a peculiar charm, he read with especial pleasure and profit the recorded lives of those great lights of jurisprudence, who, in every age, have illustrated their profession, and established important principles in constitutional or municipal law. Not only was his acquaintance with the history of English jurisprudence exact and thorough, but he readily recalled the leading incidents in the career of every eminent English lawyer, whether his distinction had been earned by his decisions from the bench, or by the ability of his arguments at the bar. He delighted to hold up, for the admiration and imitation of his pupils, the shining examples of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Ellenbor-

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* It may not be out of place to state, in this connection, an incident illustrating his love of justice and his active sympathy with the suffering poor. Having been informed, that, in one of the inferior courts of Providence, innocent persons arraigned for alleged misdemeanors were sometimes convicted and sentenced because they were unable to employ counsel, he conferred with a competent lawyer on the subject, and requested him to appear for the defendant in any such case that came to his knowledge, promising to assume the expense of such professional service.

ough, Lord Erskine, and Sir Samuel Romilly, Chief Justice Marshall, Alexander Hamilton, Jeremiah Mason, and Daniel Webster. He was accustomed to point to Lord Erskine as the model advocate, and to his reported arguments as the finest specimens of forensic reasoning to be found in the English language. He had read them critically, and analyzed them again and again, and could readily quote, from recollection, some of the most eloquent passages. From these sources, also, he derived many appropriate illustrations and apposite anecdotes, with which he diversified and enriched his instructions.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LECTURE-ROOM. — DR. BAILEY'S REMINISCENCES. — ILLUSTRATIONS. — DR. WAYLAND'S CHARACTERISTICS AS A TEACHER. — HIS RULING PRINCIPLE.

WHAT has already been said, in general terms, of the peculiar features of Dr. Wayland's mode of teaching, will, after all, fall far short of conveying a correct conception of his manner of conducting a recitation in the class-room. While those who have enjoyed the benefits of his instruction will not need to be reminded of the hours so rapid in their passage and so profitable in their results, still to others of our readers a brief sketch of the president, as he appeared before his classes, may not be without interest. We quote from reminiscences kindly furnished by Rev. Dr. Silas Bailey, professor of Theology in Kalamazoo Theological Seminary, Michigan.

"In September, 1830, I entered Brown University. I am now unable to say whether any one pointed out to me the president. There was certainly little need. He was then in the thirty-fifth year of his age and the fourth of his presidency. His step was elastic, his form erect, and his bearing manly and dignified. Altogether he was the most perfect man in physical and intellectual development that my eyes had ever beheld. Who the president was, had no place among the difficult problems which the newcomer would be called upon to solve. Indeed, a stranger in the college halls, or even in the city, soon discovered that he was within the sphere of influence of a profound thinker and an earnest man.

"The student who had been for a year in college seemed to the new pupil to have 'Dr. Wayland on the brain.' The president was the prolific theme upon which all dwelt. This topic once reached, the conversation would not flag for an hour. By this means the curiosity and expectation of the new-comer were raised to a high point, and everything subsequently proved in keeping with his first impressions. Having seen the president in the college chapel, or in his private room, or in his cap and gown proceeding to the First Baptist Church on Commencement day, and there presiding over the exercises of the graduating class, or conferring the degrees, the student was prepared to believe that whatever the university might lack, it certainly was not without a head.

"Nor did these impressions abate as he advanced in his studies, and came nearer to the president's recitation-room. There were, indeed, other instructors in the several departments, whose subsequent career has more than justified the expectations then entertained of them. Yet all the while there was but one Dr. Wayland. He had not even a second. His recitation-room was the goal towards which every student turned his eye. As the distance lessened, his eagerness increased. When he had at last passed through the preliminary years, his joy was full, because he would now be under the 'old doctor.' This silent influence, this unconscious tuition, was of unspeakable value. Although not directly unfolding any science, or evolving any principle, it imparted inspiration. The president threw over his pupils the spell of his own genius, and many of them still feel the enchantment, although the mighty spirit which imparted it has been withdrawn.

"At the time to which I refer, his recitation-room was on the first floor of the middle hall of Hope College, and in the rear of his own study. It had been a dormitory, but was afterwards furnished with benches, and what served for writing-desks — narrow pine boards upheld by pine uprights. We were obliged to use these with great care, lest we should be left without any support for our papers and our arms, during the severe trials of skill in handling our pencils. The entire furniture of the room did not exceed ten dollars in value.

"Entering by a door connecting the recitation-room with his study, he was in his chair at the moment, and he required the same promptness of each pupil. A second or third instance of tardiness was a dangerous experiment. The form of penalty could never be anticipated. Sometimes it was a look not likely to be soon forgotten; sometimes there was a painful pause, if the recitation had commenced; sometimes the delinquent was formally introduced to the class.

"All being present, and subsiding instantly into silence, the work began. He had no table, but sat with his manuscript for the lecture of the hour resting upon his knee. At this period none of his text-books had been published. The members of the class, in succession, recited the lecture of the preceding day, or perhaps one still farther back in the series. The recitation proceeded in this quiet manner until the lecture or lectures had been recalled to the minds of the pupils. Occasionally a question was asked by teacher or student, until everything obscure or ambiguous had been not only cleared up, but made as definite as language could render it. At the same time no irrelevant discussion was permitted, no argument for the sake of argument was encouraged. The class and the instructor were there for a definite purpose, and that purpose could not be thwarted by any art or subtlety: meanwhile — as all his pupils will readily remember — a silver pencil-case was passed from end to end between his thumb and finger. The compressed lips were moved slightly, but nervously. The small dark eye, through which, even in repose, his whole nature spoke, was resting, steadily but kindly, upon each student as he rose and recited.

"This exercise concluded, there was a rustling all around the room; papers were adjusted, and preparation made for writing. The president's manuscript was opened, and the well-known *a-hem* was the signal for all to be ready, and for the work of the hour to begin. He read slowly, and the class copied, each member following his own method; some using short-hand, others abbreviating words, or omitting some altogether. All were intent to catch the thought, at any rate, and the exact phraseology, if possible. The lecture was written out in full by the students at their rooms. What one failed to catch, he gathered from another, and thus by 'comparing notes' a correct copy was secured.

"These lectures seemed to us more wonderful than anything we had ever heard. They carried all the conviction of a demonstration. To have believed otherwise would have seemed absurd. Some of us at a later day found reason to modify the views then received and accepted. But at the time the conviction was complete.

His definitions were clear, simple, and easily remembered. His analysis of any obscure but important part was exhaustive, omitting no essential element. His progress through either of his favorite sciences was that of a prince through his own dominions.

"At intervals, not regular in their occurrence, yet sure to occur somewhere, he suspended his reading for a few minutes, and, waiting for a short time, until each member of the class could complete his notes and give his attention, he would relate some incident or anecdote strikingly illustrating the point last made. In this department he was always most happy. The confirmation imparted to the argument was often unexpected, and even irresistible. These anecdotes were drawn from any source that offered the richest supply; from history, from romance, from poetry, from common, unrecorded, every-day life. Often they were mirthful, sometimes ludicrous. Frequently statistics would be given, conclusively verifying the position which had been assumed. Illustrations, anecdotes, and statistics came at his bidding, and always did capital service. They were 'as arrows in the hands of the mighty.'

"Hands and arms having been rested, the reading was resumed, and the lecture advanced to the stroke of the bell. It was concluded as promptly as it commenced, closing abruptly, even if in the middle of an argument or a paragraph. Those were short hours. We wondered whither the sixty minutes had flown, and how it was that we had taken no note of their flight. Half in doubt of the correctness of the bell, we left the recitation-room.

"Whether in these exercises Dr. Wayland stirred up the intellect of his pupils, it was not difficult even for a stranger to determine. As they issued from the lecture-room, and went by twos and threes to their own apartments, the subjects which had just been discussed became the theme of most earnest conversation. Nor did the momentum thus acquired expend itself during the next twenty-four hours. The mental machinery was still in motion, when, on the following day, the class was again summoned to that unpretending room.

"I have said that on most points the conviction produced was perfect. Yet sometimes an individual, perhaps from peculiarity in his mental constitution, perhaps from pre-occupancy, did not yield his assent. And sometimes nearly the whole class would, in the review or recitation of the lecture, express disagreement with the positions taken. If (which was seldom the case) the second effort of the instructor did not succeed in producing conviction, the dissentients were required to present the grounds of their dissent in writing. This custom often called out papers of marked ability. In one or two instances the weight of argument was, in the judgment of the class, with the pupil. The discussion closed with these words: 'I have given you, young gentlemen, all the light I now possess on this subject. If you are not satisfied, I can say no more.' We all felt that even a 'drawn battle' with such an antagonist was not a result of which we had any reason to be ashamed.

"I never knew an instructor who was so perfectly master of the subject he handled, or who left the impress of his own mind so ineffaceably upon the minds of all susceptible of receiving it. He was free from all pedantry. His movements in the realm of science and thought were quiet and unostentatious. His manner was simple and childlike. There was no indication of special concern that others should assent to his views. Yet the mind that was not quickened by contact with his, that did not gird itself for more strenuous and elevated endeavors under the inspiration of his presence and teachings, must have been hopelessly dull. The recitation-room was his empire, and he reigned with imperial dignity."

Although patient to a proverb of all discussions in the recitation-room which promised to benefit the class, or to develop, in any degree, their love of truth; and although singularly tolerant of dullness and slowness of comprehension, if there were also any evidence of a sincere desire to improve, yet he never encouraged unprofitable debate.

He seemed, by an almost unerring instinct, to know when questions were asked from a desire to save some unfaithful classmate from exposing his want of preparation, or to afford the inquirer an opportunity for personal display. He had also unusual sagacity in detecting the prospect of useless discussion, and in such cases never hesitated to avoid debate. But the terms in which he declined the challenge were often equivalent to an argument.

A sceptical student, promising himself the pleasure of a prolonged controversy, once informed the president that he had been unable to discover any internal evidence that the Old Testament was inspired. "For instance," said he, "take the book of Proverbs. Certainly it needed no inspiration to write that portion of the Bible. A man not inspired could have done it as well. Indeed, I have often thought that I could write as good proverbs myself." "Very well, my son, perhaps you can," was the prompt reply. "Suppose you make the experiment. Prepare a few proverbs, and read them to the class to-morrow. *The next.*" It is hardly necessary to add that the attempt to rival the wisdom of Solomon came to an abrupt and inglorious termination.

Again, when asked if "he considered dancing wrong," he answered, "Not much time for that sort of thing in this world, my son. *The next.*"

On another occasion, when he had been impressing upon his class the importance of avoiding all literature which was licentious in its character and demoralizing in its tendency, and urging his little audience to keep their hearts pure and free from all taint of evil thoughts, he was met with the inquiry, "Was Dean Swift wrong, then, when he said, 'A nice man is a man of nasty ideas'?" Looking at his young friend with that pleasant and almost quizzical expression of face which all his old pupils so well remember, he asked, in return, 'Well, my son, what kind of a man was Swift? Is he a very safe guide to follow in such matters?"

At another time he was lecturing on the weight of evidence furnished by human testimony. He was illustrating its authority and sufficiency even for the establishment of miracles. A member of the class, not entirely satisfied of the correctness of the teaching, suggested a practical application of the doctrine: "What would you say, Dr. Wayland, if I stated, that, as I was coming up College Street, I saw the lamp-post at the corner dance?" "I should ask you where you had been, my son," was the quiet reply in the instructor's gravest manner.

Now and then some undergraduate, who, during the first three years of his collegiate course, had acquired a high reputation among his associates as a debater in the literary societies of the university, would, upon commencing the studies of the Senior class, boldly enter the lists, and invite the president to a verbal encounter. Fluent in speech, and not unpractised in the fence of words, the ambitious youth would confidently assail the positions of his instructor, summoning to his aid all those graces of rhetoric and felicities of speech which had so often secured for him the admiring applause of his fellows.

On such occasions, Dr. Wayland would listen patiently, frequently with a kindly, but never with a contemptuous smile, now and then interrupting the pupil only to say, in a tone of encouragement, "Keep to the point, my son, keep to the point," until the speaker had concluded.

He would then, first of all, recall to the recollection of the class the exact issue involved in the discussion, relieve the subject of all extrinsic considerations, point out the fallacies in the argument of his young opponent, and then, by apt illustration and natural analogy, seek to enforce the central principle on which the whole question hinged.

In these and all kindred cases, however, he never argued for victory, but always for truth. Whenever he became satisfied that his own positions were unsound, he was prompt to acknowledge his error. If, in the progress of discussion in the class-room, he received, from any source, valuable information, or learned important facts with which he had been hitherto unacquainted, he never failed to manifest his interest and express his gratitude. No man was ever more free from pride of opinion, or from obstinate adherence to his recorded sentiments. Not unfrequently, while discussing before his class some topic suggested by his own text-books, he would say, "There I differ from the author;" or, "I have come to the conclusion that the author's views on that point should be modified." He constantly regretted that the pressure of his daily duties gave him no opportunity to revise his text-books, with such alterations as experience or reflection, or the "discussion of the lecture-room," had suggested.

From first to last, every one of his pupils was profoundly convinced that his only object was to arrive at truth, and to communicate that truth as simply and as intelligibly as possible. To the successful accomplishment of this purpose, he cheerfully consecrated all his mental powers, and all the earnestness of his moral nature.

In the preface to the revised edition of the Elements of Moral Science, written August 30, 1865, — his latest literary labor, — he says, —

> "In using the following volume as a text-book for many years, I have derived great benefit from the free discussions of the lecture-room. Some of the principles, I thought, needed modification, and others might be presented in a form more easy to be understood. As soon, therefore, as I was released from the labor of instruction, I commenced the work of revision of what I had so long taught. My progress was arrested by an attack of illness, and for two or three years I was obliged to lay it entirely aside. With returning health I resumed my labors, and I lay the result before the public."

It was certainly characteristic of his long and laborious career as an instructor, that he should have devoted the closing months of his life to the revision and improvement of his earliest text-book. The candid and thorough revision of this, the earliest of his text-books, formed certainly a fitting conclusion to his life-long labors as a teacher.

Considered as an instructor, perhaps no quality of his mind was more striking than its freshness. He never repeated himself. He had no traditional anecdotes, handed down from class to class, and looked for as certain to be related, when, in the stereotyped programme of instruction, the time had arrived for their natural and appropriate introduction. While the text-books which he taught were of necessity the basis of the exercises of the recitation-room, the principles which those books inculcated were illustrated and enforced by apt analogies borrowed from every department of science and from the whole range of human knowledge. Here he derived incalculable benefit from the extent and variety of his educational labors before he became president. We have seen that he had been called upon to give instruction in very many branches of study, and, governed by that conscientious view of his duty which was ever the controlling principle of his life, he had spared no pains to become familiar with the details of every department which was committed to his charge.

His intellect was essentially progressive. He thought nothing beneath his notice which tended to promote the welfare, or conduce to the comfort of the race. His generous mind received, his rare analytical powers classified, and his retentive memory cherished, every important fact and principle in ethics, science, literature, or art, which came under his observation. And all this wealth of information was lavishly expended for the benefit of his pupils. He delighted to see them not only industrious, but interested in their studies. He never chilled them by any formality of manner, nor intimidated them by any needless display of personal dignity. While his discipline was strict, and his authority absolute and undisputed, he never, for a moment, forgot that his duty as an instructor required him to present truth in its most winning and attractive aspect to the minds of his pupils. Keeping this obligation constantly and conscientiously in view, he infused a life and spirit into the all too brief hour devoted to his recitations, which made them the most agreeable incidents of college experience.

A marked peculiarity of the teachings of Dr. Wayland was his profound conviction of the absolute truth of what he taught. He was never satisfied until he had ' thought through ' every subject within the legitimate scope of his instructions. Each principle, so examined and embraced, became a part of himself. To quote the words of one of his pupils, —

> " I think the most striking feature of Dr. Wayland, as an instructor, was his intense and remarkable personality. Whatever he taught, he taught not out of books, but out of himself. Whatever he derived from books was, as the Prayer Book hath it, ' inwardly digested,' and in the process made fairly a part of himself, and then enforced and impressed upon his pupils, in such a manner, aided by his commanding presence, that they never went behind him for authority, and had no need to do so."

He had, moreover, in the highest degree, that element of character which is indispensable to success in any employment — professional enthusiasm. An ardent desire to develop to the utmost the mental and moral powers of the young men intrusted to his care inspired all his efforts and stimulated all his energies. His mind was ever on the alert to devise means of creating fresh interest in the department which he taught. To this object all his reading, all his researches in science, all his study of the Scriptures, were made tributary.

Up to the last day of his official connection with Brown University, his preparation for the exercises of the recitation-room was as careful and conscientious as when, a tutor in Union College, he commenced the work of instruction. For a teacher who neglected his duty, or who discharged that duty listlessly or mechanically, he had no respect. Indeed, it was his constant endeavor to prevent "the customary separation of salary and duty — the grand principle which appears to pervade all human institutions, and to be the most invincible of all human abuses." The desire of making money, as the leading motive for entering the profession, excited his stern contempt. He considered it disloyal to an exalted calling, and always predicted mental bankruptcy as its inevitable result.

He was very far from believing that teaching had a natural or necessary tendency to dwarf the mind of the teacher. He maintained, on the contrary, that, if properly pursued, it could not fail to expand and ennoble the intellect, and to quicken into new life and increased activity every faculty of the faithful instructor. As early as 1830 he writes to his sisters, who had just commenced a school for young ladies in Saratoga Springs, New York, —

> "It is, I assure you, a noble business. You will find that your minds will gain more in one year than they ever gained before in five years."

He urges them, however, not to neglect proper preparation for their new duties.

> "You will, for the first year, be obliged to devote a great deal of time to study. This you will discover to be both advantageous and pleasant. You had better divide the branches, and each pay particular attention to the department in which you propose to give instruction. It is one thing to know a subject as others do, and quite another thing to know it so as to be able to teach it properly. The latter requires much patient and original thinking; the former does not."

His own example, however, furnishes more conclusive evidence than can be found in any words, of the sincerity of his convictions on this subject.

Steady, unflinching earnestness in the work immediately before him, was the rule of his life. In a letter to a friend, he says, "I have much writing to do, but I shall always write to you when I am able, and when I can do you any service. I may not, in every case, be a punctual correspondent, but I will always be in earnest." Sometimes, in seasons of mental depression, he may have doubted if, in devoting himself to the work of instruction, he had not mistaken his destiny; but he never allowed any such misgiving to diminish his professional enthusiasm. He subordinated all his tastes and inclinations, all the energy of his nature, all the well-disciplined faculties of his mind, to the one business of fulfilling, to the best of his ability, the trust reposed in him as the head of Brown University. Upon this point his own testimony will be read with interest.

"In reviewing that part of my life which has been devoted to teaching, I see much that I could wish had been otherwise. That I applied myself to the duties which devolved upon me with an honest and earnest purpose, I think I may without vanity assert. I believe I have been generally considered a laborious man. I allowed myself no recreation, except physical labor for the preservation of my health. My mind was occupied continually, either upon the studies which I was called upon to teach, or else upon the government of the college, or the details relating to its increased efficiency. All my reading was directed to the subjects immediately before me. From the beginning to the end of the collegiate year, whether in term time or in vacation, the interests of the college were almost never out of my thoughts. I cheerfully undertook any labor by which its welfare might be promoted.

"Perhaps I erred in this respect. Such continued concentration of the mind upon one subject tends to diminish its elasticity, and leads to premature mental decay. It would, perhaps, have been better if I had allowed myself more recreation; but for this I had no aptitude. And, besides, considering myself, more than anybody else, responsible for the success of the college, I could not be satisfied unless I did everything in my power to promote it. Therefore, to be thus '*totus in illis*' became to me a sort of necessity. I could not neglect the present for the sake of the future. I felt obliged to do what seemed to be the duty which pressed upon me for the moment. This mental habit rendered my life, to a considerable extent, fragmentary, by reason of frequent interruption. Whether I should have succeeded better with another view of duty, I cannot now determine. Considering the condition of the college at the time, I do not see how I could have taken a different course."

Undoubtedly a wider range of studies would have gratified his eager thirst for knowledge. Certainly a greater indulgence in social recreation would have lightened his labors, and given increased elasticity to his often overtasked mind. Travelling, and the familiarity with men and their modes of life, which the frequent traveller can hardly help acquiring, might have given him more ease of manner, and made him more accessible to his casual acquaintances. But all this was inconsistent with his stern views of duty. Whenever a conflict arose between desire and obligation, he never asked himself, "What will be agreeable?" but rather, "What will be right?" In every instance self was left out of the question.

Thus, in the fall of 1834, when many of his friends urged him to visit Europe for the benefit of his health, and as a change which he very much needed, he writes to a relative, —

"Since you left there has been more talk about my going to Europe. It seems to strike those who have spoken of it, more favorably than I had anticipated. I am rather more disposed than before to think of it seriously. If I am ever to go, now is the time; and probably such an opportunity will never occur again. I am endeavoring to collect facts and materials for forming an opinion. I pray that God may direct the decision according to his will."

Further reflection, however, satisfying him that it was his duty to remain at his post, the project was abandoned.

In fact, to deny himself for the good of others, and for the benefit of the cause in which all his energies were enlisted, had become so completely the habit of his life, that any personal sacrifice demanded of him was made without apparent effort. He recognized no other rule of action. A serious estimate of his accountability to God and to his fellow-men for the full and faithful exercise of all the faculties with which his Creator had endowed him, was the standard by which he tested every question of personal duty.

CHAPTER XII.

FEELING OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY. — VIEWS OF DISCIPLINE. — RESPECT AND AFFECTION OF PUPILS. — RELIGIOUS CONVERSATIONS. — COLLEGE CHAPEL. — SERMONS TO UNDERGRADUATES.

IN his relations to the college, as everywhere, conscientious devotion to duty was the key-note to all his conduct. He could be satisfied with nothing less than the consecration of all his powers to the profession which he had chosen as his life-work.

A keen sense of the responsibility which he had assumed in undertaking the mental and moral training of the pupils committed to his care, was never for a moment absent from his mind. He looked upon them, not as so many young men whose names would appear on the catalogue, and whose bills for tuition would be duly collected during a period of four years, but as immortal beings, whose usefulness in life, and whose eternal welfare, must be materially affected by their connection with the institution over which he presided. He recognized in every young man who entered the university a new trust imposed upon him, and held himself personally accountable to the student, to his parents, and to his God, for the faithful fulfilment of so serious an obligation. This abiding conviction of personal responsibility continued, in unabated force, to the close of his official connection with the university. In 1844 he writes to a friend, —

"... I thank you for your cautions. I should be very glad to obey their pointings if I knew how to do it.

It is not really that I do hard labor, but that my situation allows of no relaxation, and is one of invariable responsibility. Were I my own man, with power to arrange my time for myself, and to throw off care at intervals, or so that I could have a day in a week, or a week or two every three months, I could do twice what I do, and be as elastic as need be. But these alleviations do not belong to the lot which has fallen to my share. The harness is buckled on, and I cannot get it off without quitting the service. If I find that I have not the health to go through with it, I shall quit it, and leave it to some better dray-horse. You may think me dull or discontented. I trust that this is not the case. But I have seen much of college life. I knew the peculiar position and its necessities. I do not believe that this calling can be made to succeed unless some one does as I do, if he have not much more talent than I have. I am constituted, perhaps, peculiarly. Official responsibility presses steadily, I do not say heavily, upon me. To see a thing go wrong for which I am responsible, without doing everything in my power to set it right, is impossible. It is against my nature. It is not obstinacy; it is not ambition, but a dogged feeling of duty, that I cannot get rid of. So much for my position. I think it not improbable that I shall leave it, should my life be spared a few years longer. But of this I need not predict. I have generally seen that when Providence has placed a man in any situation, and designs him to leave it, there are two kinds of indications — the first, that his work there is done; and the second, that there is work for him to do somewhere else. Since I have been here, the first has been given several times, but not, as I have thought, the latter. It may be that the latter will be given here. But I am ashamed of prosing to you, at this rate, about my affairs.

He fully sympathized with Dr. Arnold as to the individual accountability of an instructor, and especially approved, and frequently commended, these sentiments of the master of Rugby School: —

" It is a most touching thing to me to receive a new boy from his father, when I think what an influence there is in this place for evil as well as for good. I do not know anything which affects me more. If I could ever receive a fresh boy from his father without emotion, I should think it high time to be off."

The discipline of an instructor holding such opinions, and binding himself to so severe a standard of duty, could not fail to be always thorough, and often severe. While he did not probably expect of his pupils undeviating obedience to every college regulation, he was particularly careful to watch their moral tendencies. If they were frank, candid, and outspoken, he was slow to censure and prompt to pardon. Confession of wrong doing, and an evident desire to amend, gave him an opportunity, which he gladly embraced, to forgive the offender, and to set before him the moral consequences of his misconduct. He appreciated the evil results of defective training in early life, and was ever ready to make due allowance for errors in home education. At the same time, while the natural kindness of his heart always inclined him to mercy, he never forgot the importance of maintaining those general principles of discipline which are essential to the wise administration of college government.

As the views of Dr. Wayland, in regard to discipline, were in some respects, perhaps, peculiar to himself, and certainly had a marked effect in giving character and individuality to the college, we quote, on this point, from his reminiscences.*

" With respect to the discipline of a college, it is, perhaps, proper that I should give my experience. I may say that my views on this subject are very simple. So far as I know, it has been generally supposed that the head of a college can only succeed by understanding the peculiar temperament, habits, disposition, &c., of every pupil, and, on the basis of this knowledge, making out a distinct mode of treatment for each undergraduate. In strict accordance with this theory, parents without number, when entering their sons in college, have come to me, and at great length have informed me of the peculiarities of their children, stating that their dispositions were excellent if they were only governed in some particular manner. I always listened with due attention to such statements, but paid to them no regard whatever. Indeed, I very soon learned that these *peculiar* young men were in fact, in almost every case, spoiled children, with whom I was likely to have more than the usual amount of trouble.

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* The reader should bear in mind that the reminiscences from which the following extract is made, were written for his sons, and not for publication.

"It seemed to me that such a view of the proper method of governing a public institution for instruction would greatly impair, if it did not entirely destroy, the value of any college in which it should prevail. If it were the business of instructors to study the character of every pupil, and in each instance to modify the course of discipline to suit the peculiarities of every individual, sound judgment would, from the very nature of the case, be impossible. A college would then fail in one of its most important designs, namely, as an intermediate place between the family and society, to prepare the student for entrance upon the practical duties of life. I came, therefore, to the conclusion, that the laws of a college should be simple, just, kind, and of such a character that they could be shown to be right and salutary, both to parents and pupils. These laws, having been established, were to be rigidly observed, and, by making every young man feel that he must be accountable for his own actions, prepare him for becoming a member of society, where this rule is to be enforced under more severe penalties. The more peculiar a young man is, and the more his peculiarities have been suffered to gain strength, the more important it is that he should be subjected to the same restraints as his fellows, without making any allowance for his eccentricities. If a young man be rude, arrogant, passionate, untruthful, indolent, unpunctual, it is far better, after one admonition, that no allowance whatever be made for these evil habits, than that they should ripen into confirmed biases, which a whole lifetime might be insufficient to correct.

"It was therefore my aim to have no laws which could not be shown to be perfectly reasonable, and then to execute those laws with all possible strictness and impartiality. Of course, in saying this I assume that it will be understood that the government of impulsive, thoughtless young men is different from the government of adults. It must, of necessity, be kind, conciliatory, persuasive, or, in a word, parental. Penalty must be visited only after other means of restraint and correction have been tried in vain. But it must be distinctly understood that when these have proved ineffectual, punishment will inevitably come, and come on all alike, without the shadow of partiality.

"In the government of a college, every case becomes a precedent; and if the precedent be a bad one, it will never be forgotten, but will be pleaded without fail, as though it established a law. I always, therefore, considered it a matter of prime importance to decide every new case correctly. It was my habit to take time for deliberation, to examine each case in all its bearings, and to see what would be the result of a decision if generally adopted as a rule. I endeavored to ascertain the principles on which a decision should be founded. I appreciated the fact that a case settled on true principles would harmonize with every other case that might subsequently occur, whether nearly or remotely connected with the one before me. The laws of college, and the results of violating them, became thus perfectly well known. When the younger students were disposed to combine in perpetrating some violation of law, their seniors would tell them distinctly what would be the inevitable consequence, and their predictions rarely failed of fulfilment. The principles which governed in such cases were well understood, and it was known that by these principles all cases of discipline were to be decided.

"I know that all this seems easy to be understood and easy to be accomplished; and yet it is not exactly so. What needs to be done may be readily perceived. But when the doing it may destroy the prospects of a young man, and scatter to the winds the long-cherished hopes of parents, that measure of discipline, which one knows to be right and unavoidable, is attended with the severest pain. I never attempted an important case of discipline without great mental distress. I took every means possible to escape it, and to maintain the government without harming the young men. When, however, all other means had been tried, and action became necessary, I nerved myself to the work. From that moment all the distress was over, and I went through it so coolly, that I believe I acquired the reputation of being a stern, unfeeling disciplinarian, who was determined to carry out college regulations regardless of the pain which he caused. In this respect I suppose I must be classed among those unfortunate men who think themselves misunderstood.

"My notions of college discipline differed, I believe, in another particular, from the general opinion of my time. It was formerly supposed — and to a considerable extent the opinion continues to be entertained — that an undergraduate is amenable to no other laws than those of his college. He may do what he pleases; he may violate, almost at pleasure, the laws of society, and yet be liable to no other punishment than college censure. I have known college officers to take very great pains to shield students from the consequences of their violation of municipal regulations. My view of the matter was the reverse of all this. For simple infraction of the rules of academic society, college censure is the suitable and appropriate punishment. For violation of the laws of the community, the penalties which society has decreed in such cases are as justly to be awarded to the student as to any other young man. His connection with the college should afford the wrong-doer no sort of protection. The sooner a student discovers that he is amenable to the laws of society, like any other citizen, the better it will be for him.

"It always seemed to me absurd that two brothers, entering together upon their preparatory life, the one choosing the course of active life, the other devoting himself to intellectual and moral cultivation, should speedily find themselves under systems of law so opposite in their nature. If the former breaks his neighbor's windows, or steals his fruit, or disturbs his peace, he is arrested, and held accountable to repair the damage he has done. The other may commit any or all of these offences, and only be thought to have played a 'college trick,' which will be winked at by the community, while the officers of his college are considered as bound to stand between him and the deserved penalty. If I am not mistaken, President Quincy, of Harvard, was the first man who reversed the process. He taught the students under him that they were responsible, in all respects, to the laws of Massachusetts. President Felton, as I am told, has pursued a similar course. Both of these gentlemen, however, for doing what was plainly right, were subjected to considerable animadversion.

"I recall two cases in which I was compelled to call upon the civil authorities. On one occasion two students had robbed the philosophical cabinet of several valuable instruments. I caused a warrant to be issued for their apprehension, but gave them time to leave the state. The other case was of one student drawing a pistol on another. Here also the offender was suffered to escape. The principle, however, was established, and this answered my purpose."

While the discipline of Dr. Wayland may have seemed to many of the undergraduates strict, and even at times severe, they rarely failed, before the close of their collegiate course, to appreciate the moral elevation of his motives, and the soundness of his principles of government.

In fact, his dignity of manner, the purity of his moral character, his unremitting industry, his intense earnestness, his independence of thought, his professional enthusiasm, his exact and impartial justice, his enlarged and progressive views of college education, his freedom from narrow and sectarian prejudices in "religious concernments," and his loyalty to truth, could but secure the respect and command the confidence of his pupils.

They saw that he exacted nothing of them to which he did not cheerfully conform. If he insisted upon punctuality, he set the example of never being behind time, without an excuse, the justice of which commanded universal assent. If he urged the importance of fixed hours of study, they knew that he was governed by the same rules which he applied to them. If he cautioned them against frivolous amusements, and every species of mental and moral dissipation, they felt that his advice was conscientiously given, and was enforced by his own constant practice.

In a word, it was impossible to escape the contagion of his example, and the more closely the undergraduates were brought into contact with the president, the more profound was their respect for his character, and the higher their appreciation of his ability.

Yet this was not all. With the better class of pupils he not only inspired sincere reverence, but he created strong attachments. It has been truly said of him, "There was so much kindness in his stern justice, so much that was generous and noble in his severity, that the students generally loved him as much as they respected him."

Indeed, such sincere, exclusive, and self-sacrificing devotion to duty, was peculiarly fitted to touch the feelings and enlist the sympathies of all right-minded young men. While the members of the younger classes may have been sometimes deterred from approaching him from a natural awe inspired by his presence, and a traditional fear of entering his study, every feeling of this kind was quickly dissipated, when, in the Senior year, they became in a more exact sense his pupils.

We quote once more from the interesting reminiscences of Mr. Kingsbury: —

> "I have had in my Bible class about two hundred and fifty young men connected with Brown University, most of them, of course, undergraduates during his presidency. They often visited me to converse about matters concerning their relations to the college. I invariably observed that they entered the institution with a good degree of awe of Dr. Wayland. But when they had once come under his immediate instruction, their uniform testimony was, that there was no other member of the Faculty in whose presence they felt so free from constraint."

They then learned to appreciate the degree of his interest in their individual welfare, and his absorbing anxiety that they should be not merely proficient in their studies, and correct in their external deportment, but qualified to be valuable members of society, and, above all, Christian young gentlemen. Many a wayward pupil, reclaimed from vicious courses by the untiring efforts of Dr. Wayland, will bear cheerful testimony to the timely admonitions and the kindly counsels of his revered instructor. He will recall, not without emotion, the tender and touching appeals drawn from a father's anxiety and a mother's love, the serious enforcement of moral obligation, the constant reference to the teachings of Christ as the only infallible guide to duty and criterion of conduct.

In the words of Dr. Bailey, —

"Often, when an undergraduate entered the doctor's study, he was invited to be seated. Then followed a conversation of great tenderness, rich in gospel truth, and prolific in motives, urging him to the salvation of his soul. He was entreated to read his Bible daily: he was shown its treasures, and its influence upon his character and his destiny. He was called upon to consider his standing in the sight of God. He was affectionately urged to suffer no delay; to peril no longer interests so momentous, but to commence at once a life of piety. The interview was closed with prayer — a prayer so humble, sincere, and affectionate, that the young man felt convinced, as he rose from his knees, that at least one soul, second to none in greatness, believed his moral danger to be real and imminent, and yearned for his salvation.

"These personal interviews were never regarded as of secondary importance. In all conditions of religious feeling, amid the most engrossing academic labors, they were not forgotten or neglected. While they did not always result in the speedy conversion of the pupils, the impression (I speak here from personal experience) was ineffaceable. They led to the Bible and the closet, hedged up the path of scepticism, and frequently produced ultimate consecration to Christ. Many a man, now serving God and his fellow-men in a Christian life, was first arrested in his course of selfish ambition, and turned to God by these seemingly accidental interviews. Many a young Christian, weary, faint, and despondent, has been reinvigorated in his faith and purpose, by words spoken in the retirement of the president's study. Many a young man, doubting and hesitating in respect to his duty, has been rendered resolute in his determination to live for Christ, by the timely counsel of those lips, now silent in death. Whoever else was indifferent, the president never was. Whoever else was careless in respect to the wants of Zion, there was one who did not cease to labor and plead for her, and who might at all times truly say, 'I prefer Jerusalem above my chief joy.'"

The following extract is from the Congregationalist: —

"I was a free-thinker; read Rousseau and Lord Byron, and believed in them. Religion I judged of by the long stereotyped prayers and ascetic looks of some ill-bred Christians. I hated Orthodoxy as I saw it from the stand-point I had, in my proud imagination, taken. In this mental status I took my seat in the lecture-room of Dr. Wayland. He was then discussing the powers and functions of 'the moral sense.' His course of argumentation was so keen and clear that I soon began to listen. I began to question, to argue, to present objections in order to drive him from his position. It was like damming up the waters of the Nile with bulrushes. His logic, unfolded in his perspicuous, yet laconic style, quite overwhelmed, confounded me. I saw that I was a miserable sinner in the sight of an offended God.

"I went to my room to pray; my knees were stubborn; the load upon my heart was crushing me. What must I do to escape the wrath of the Almighty? Hope seemed to have taken its everlasting flight.

"I arose and went into the presence of Dr. Wayland. He was in his study, reading his old, well-worn copy of the sacred word. He received me kindly, and I at once made known to him the anguish of my soul. I felt and said, 'My sins are so great and so many that God cannot pardon me.'

"Fixing his keen black eyes, beaming with tenderness, on me, this good man said, — and never till my dying day can I forget the earnest solemnity, the eloquence of the tone, — 'When he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion on him, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.' I felt that the case was mine, and Hope, reviving Hope, came to me. Dr. Wayland then knelt down and prayed with me and for me; and on leaving him, he lent me his well-thumbed copy of Bishop

Wilson's Sacra Privata, advising me to read that, and the Life of Brainerd, instead of Byron,

> 'And if I met with trials and troubles on the way,
> To cast myself on Jesus, and not forget to pray.'

I never knew till then the full meaning of that great English word *friendliness.* I never before knew Jesus Christ."

But in addition to the moral power of personal intercourse with his pupils, and the facilities furnished by the daily meetings of his class in the recitation-room, Dr. Wayland did not overlook the somewhat wider field afforded by the regular morning and evening religious exercises of the college chapel. It was his habit, when the students were thus assembled, at the conclusion of the reading of the Scriptures and the subsequent prayer, to address the undergraduates upon any matter of college discipline which had recently occurred. On such occasions he always sought to refer the case of misconduct under consideration to some general principle, and to impress upon his youthful audience some salutary lesson suggested by the moral bearings of the misdemeanor.

A member of the class of 1833* has kindly contributed the following reminiscence in illustration of this subject: —

"I remember on one occasion, after some of the neighbors had been despoiled of their turkeys, that the doctor addressed the students on the subject, after evening prayers, substantially as follows: Undoubtedly you will say that this appropriation of turkeys which did not belong to you is a venial offence. I believe you call it 'hooking' turkeys. as the idea of 'stealing' turkeys would be offensive. But, young gentlemen, I beg you to bear one thing in mind. Those of you who have thus 'hooked' turkeys have taken the property of another, without right, and in violation of law. I do not say that those who have been guilty of this offence may not hereafter become good citizens and worthy members of society; but I do say, that there is a decided difference between the man who has committed such a misdemeanor and the man who has not; and that the fact of the wrong-doing can never be undone nor recalled. It is not wise or safe to tamper thus with our moral nature, and to lose sight, even for a moment, of the distinction between right and wrong. The extent of the injury which you may be inflicting on yourselves by persisting in such a course of conduct is beyond your power to estimate. I implore you not to trifle with your moral sense. Do not, I pray you, dull the edge of your conscience."

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* Hon. H. B. Anthony, United States Senator from Rhode Island.

From another eminent alumnus of Brown University we learn that

"Dr. Wayland had rare power in referring (in his frequent addresses to the students after evening prayers) every incident relating to college discipline and the general subject of university education to some general principle, the importance of which upon the character and future career of the undergraduates he always enforced by apposite illustrations and telling appeals."

We quote from the address of Professor Chace: —

"Another means employed by President Wayland for awakening impulse, and correcting, guiding, and elevating public sentiment in college, was addresses from the platform in the chapel. These were most frequent and most characteristic in the earlier days of his presidency. They occurred, usually, immediately after evening prayers, and took the place of the undergraduate speaking, which at that time formed a part of the daily college programme. The occasions which called them forth were some irregularity, or incident, or event which seemed to render proper the application of the moral lever to raise the standard of scholarship or character. We all knew very well when to expect them.

"As the students then, with few exceptions, lived within the college buildings, and took their meals in Commons Hall, they constituted, much more than at present, a community by themselves. They were more readily swayed by common impulses, and more susceptible of common emotions. When gathered in the chapel, they formed a unique, but remarkably homogeneous, audience. President Wayland was at that time at the very culmination of his powers, both physical and intellectual. His massive and stalwart frame, not yet filled and rounded by the accretions of later years, his strongly-marked features having still the sharp outlines and severe grace of their first chiselling, his peerless eye sending from beneath that Olympian brow its lordly or its penetrating glances, he seemed, as he stood on the stage in that old chapel, the incarnation of majesty and power. He was raised a few feet above his audience, and so near to them that those most remote could see the play of every feature. He commenced speaking. It was not instruction; it was not argument; it was not exhortation. It was a mixture of wit and humor, of ridicule, sarcasm, pathos, and fun, of passionate remonstrance, earnest appeal, and solemn warning, poured forth, not at random, but with a knowledge of the laws of emotion to which Lord Kames himself could have added nothing. The effect was indescribable. No Athenian audience ever hung more tumultuously on the lips of the divine Demosthenes. That little chapel heaved and swelled with the intensity of its pent-up forces. The billows of passion rose and fell like the waves of a tempestuous sea. At one moment all were burning with indignation; the next they were melted to tears. Now every one was convulsed with laughter, and now as solemn as if the revelations of doom were just opening upon him. Emotions the most diverse followed one another in quick succession. Admiration, resentment, awe, and worship in turn swelled every bosom. At length the storm spent itself. The sky cleared, and the sun shone out with increased brightness. The ground had been softened and fertilized, and the whole air purified."

Any sketch of Dr. Wayland as a teacher of young men and the head of a college would be imperfect, if it did not describe somewhat in detail his manner of conducting religious exercises in the college chapel. It was a manner peculiarly his own, and as much a part of himself as any feature of the daily life of Brown University, with which his memory is associated. In the words of Dr. Bailey, —

"In the chapel service he was always brief. Part of a chapter was read, and the morning prayer was in the spirit of the passage selected. If it related to the attributes and perfections of God, the prayer was a humble expression of adoration. If it described man as degraded and ruined, the prayer was a penitential confession of weakness and guilt, and an earnest petition for divine assistance. He had a moral sensitiveness which readily responded to any phase of truth which the lesson of the hour presented.

"In the evening we generally went from the lecture-room to the chapel. The prayer at this time was often suggested, not by the selected Scripture, but by some form of moral truth which had occupied our attention during the preceding hour. Perhaps it was a thanksgiving to God for rich revelations of science, or for the increase of happiness which these great general truths had brought to our sinful, suffering race, or a fervent supplication that by thoroughly understanding them we might be fully prepared for the work of life before us. I was not at that time a Christian, but I was often deeply impressed with the influence which Christian faith had over him in everything which he thought or did.

"While a student, and wholly inexperienced in respect to the difficulties of this religious exercise, I was frequently struck with the prayers of President Wayland; with the absence of repetition, with their variety and richness. And when called to a similar service for more than twenty years, what was before only striking has seemed to me truly wonderful. The appropriateness impressed me strongly at the time; but subsequently I found occasion to recall what I could, and to inquire, for my own benefit, upon what the success depended, and how the requisite interest was maintained. I soon became convinced that it was not a matter of mere accident, nor was it left to the feeling or impulse of the moment.

"I do not mean to say that the public devotions of the late president were faultless. His attitude was frequently careless. There was also, at the time of which I speak, too much brevity. Perhaps this apparent brevity was owing to a conscientious apprehension that time might be expended in prayer, which ought to be devoted to study, or that some who were required to be present might be wearied. Yet for all this, I have heard few men, perhaps none, whose public devotions presented so little to which impartial criticism could object. His conceptions of Deity seemed to me vast, his reverence profound, his love filial and deep as his own great moral nature admitted. Evidently he approached the throne of God with an awe such as I imagine angels and glorified spirits must feel. Sometimes he offered adoration and praise in language so exalted that it seemed inspired by a rapt vision of the Holy One.

"But when his own moral nature, and its deep, pressing wants, were the burden of his prayer, there was visible a humble and patient feeling, absorbing and subduing. His whole soul seemed pervaded with a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. He lamented the stains of guilt, and sought relief alone in the blood of Christ. He mourned over the insubordination of the passions, and prayed that grace might be given to bring them into captivity to the will of the Master.

"Before preaching, his prayer for aid was most earnest. One was reminded of the wrestling of the patriarch at the fords of the brook Jabbok. There was a timidity and self-distrust which seemed almost unsuitable to his position in the church. Admiring as I did his genius, and feeling that nothing required of the human intellect was beyond him, I used then to listen to these pleadings with wonder.

"A prayer offered by him at the opening of a term of the U. S. Circuit Court, Mr. Justice Story presiding, is to this day vivid before my mind. It was an invocation of the presence of God as the Author and Source of all justice, and the Being before whom the judges of the earth would all stand to give an account of the manner in which they had administered the laws among men. An allusion to the omnipresence of God made me tremble. 'Hell is naked before thee, and destruction hath no covering.' I recall no passages in his sermons or addresses that surpass in sublimity some portions of that prayer. Spectators, jurors, advocates, and judges were hushed into perfect stillness during its utterance; and I asked myself who, during that session of the court, would dare to connive at injustice, or to devise or award anything which would not be approved at the final judgment day. The court seemed to me but a faint and poor imitation of the great tribunal before which we must all appear."

But the president was by no means contented with these modes of approaching the hearts and consciences of his pupils. He longed to discover yet other avenues to their moral natures. Therefore, although already overtasked by the arduous labors and grave responsibilities of his position, he commenced a series of Sabbath services in the college chapel. In 1832 Mrs. Wayland, writing to Dr. Wayland's mother, says, —

> "I wish to inform you what is your son's present course of religious instruction in college. He has every Saturday evening a conference meeting, which he holds with the Senior class; and for three Sabbaths past he has preached to the students and to the officers and their families in the college chapel. His Bible class continues every Sunday evening. I think too much devolves on him, but he says, 'it is his dispensation always.'"

These sermons were continued, with only such intermissions as the pressure of his duties made absolutely necessary, until nearly the close of his presidency; and who shall measure and estimate the influence which these discourses, addressed to so many successive classes of young men, may have exerted upon their future career in life? How have those pointed, personal sermons moulded the Christian belief and stimulated the piety of hundreds of students!

At a meeting of graduates, October 3, 1865, A. Payne, Esq., said, —

> "If I were to speak of the things done by him, which I think were most remarkable, I should not fix upon any of the great works by which he is known all over the Christian world. I should recall some of the sermons which he preached in the old chapel, on what was called the Annual College Fast — some of those occasions upon which he laid himself alongside of the young men in college, and, with all the earnestness of which he was capable, tried to bring them to his way of thinking upon the subject of religion. I have never heard anything in human speech superior to passages in some of these

addresses. And I am very much mistaken if, when that sifting process has been performed upon his works which has to be performed upon the works of every author, some of those University Sermons, as I believe they were called, will not survive everything else that he has written or spoken."

And yet, whatever of spiritual power or of impressive eloquence these discourses contained, was borrowed, not from the momentary excitement caused by a crowded house, but from the love of the preacher for the souls of his hearers. Says a member of the class of 1838, — *

"On one occasion, in my Senior year (1838), Dr. Wayland preached on Sunday afternoon in the college chapel. Through some mistake, notice of the service had not been given to the students. Hence only three were present.

"The text was, 'I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee,' &c. The subject of the discourse was the nature of genuine repentance. He spoke without notes, and with singular clearness and power. It was a most convincing, eloquent, and impressive sermon, and as animated and earnest in delivery as if preached to a crowded audience. His inspiration was drawn solely from his sacred theme."

We cannot better illustrate his diffidence and self-distrust than by quoting his expressions of surprise at the cordiality of the reception by the public of his volume of "University Sermons:" —

". . . I heartily reciprocate your wish that the author was as good as his sermons, without, however, claiming much goodness for them. It is easier to preach than to practise. I seem to be striving to do better, but I come lamentably short in everything, and I can get no higher than 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' The Sermons have been received far better than I expected. The first edition is exhausted, and a second is already published. This is encouragement which I had not anticipated. May God command his blessing on them, and make them useful in his cause."

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* Rev. E. G. Robinson, D. D.

In order that our readers may be able to form a more correct estimate of the sermons addressed by Dr. Wayland to the undergraduates than can be afforded by any mere sketch, however graphic, and because the "University Sermons" do not adequately exhibit the parental tenderness of his personal appeals, we present in full one of his discourses, hitherto unpublished, preached in the college chapel, July 18, 1847, at the close of the collegiate year.*

"*A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.*" — Prov. x : 1.

"It is interesting to observe, young gentlemen, how admirably all the relations which we sustain are intended to promote our virtue and well-being. Every one of us stands connected with the society of which he forms a part, in ways too numerous to admit of a ready specification. We are citizens of a common country; we are fellow-townsmen of the place of our residence; we are members of a particular social circle; we are intimates with those of our own age; we are co-workers with those in our own profession; we are kinsmen of those descended from the same ancestor; we are brothers and sisters in the same family; we are parents or children in the same household. In all these, and a hundred relations beside, our happiness or misery is of necessity affected by the conduct of those with whom we are thus, with so much complexity, associated.

"Now, one of the results flowing from these associations is the consciousness of a peculiar responsibility for the good conduct of others. We feel disgraced in the eyes of the world if an American citizen dishonors his name, forfeits his word, is false to his engagements, or becomes a traitor to his country. We feel an additional pride in our citizenship, if our brethren, in cases of emergency, display the evidences of high integrity, unsullied faith, unshaken bravery, and disinterested benevolence. Nor is this feeling at all confined to ourselves. It is the reflection of a sentiment which others, whether we are aware of it or not, entertain towards us. A few years since it was believed that this whole country was about to disavow its solemn obligations. What American did not feel humbled when he contemplated the prospect? And there was reason for this feeling of humiliation. Wherever an American travelled over the face of the earth, he heard of nothing but Repudiation. It mattered not from what part of the Union he derived his origin; it was of no consequence whether he had or had not been a party to the acts in question. He was an American citizen, and he must bear his part of the odium, and suffer his part of the social punishment which was inflicted on those who were believed to be the ill-doers. And who of us has not breathed more freely, who of us has not looked a foreigner more calmly in the face, as this reproach has been from time to time wiped away, and the good faith of our country has been, in many instances, so nobly maintained? Again, when these very nations, who thought ill of us, were suffering by famine, and their poverty-stricken populations were perishing by thousands and hundreds of thousands, who has not exulted in the spontaneous liberality with which our people moved to their relief? It was a noble spectacle to behold this whole country, from the Gulf of Mexico to the distant Aroostook, — once almost a battle-ground, — from the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast, — so lately almost threatened with bombardment, — hastening to pour out their offerings for the sustentation of a starving peasantry. It was a proud sight to look upon, when our national vessels, originally designed to accomplish nothing but the purposes of vengeance, were sent on this errand of mercy. It was glorious to behold them, dismantled of their armaments, every destructive engine laid aside, the white flag of the Prince of Peace floating from every mast-head, loaded with provisions for starving thousands, enter the harbor of a famine-stricken land. It was reserved for us, in the kind providence of God, to be the first people upon earth who should thus commence the fulfilment of that prophecy, 'Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.' And who of us does not exult in this deed of national mercy? Who does not feel that he himself is exalted in the eyes of the world, in this honor that has been done to the American name? Who does not feel conscious that in the presence of a holy universe, and of God, the Father Almighty, the acts of Palo Alto, and Monterey, and Buena Vista, and Vera Cruz, and Cerro Gordo are covered with blackness, in contrast with the mission of the Jamestown and the Macedonian, and the fleet that accompanied them, bearing succor and life to millions who were dying for lack of bread?

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* It is worthy of note that for these Sabbath services in the chapel, Dr. Wayland almost invariably wrote new sermons, not availing himself of the ample supplies accumulated in the course of former parochial labors. The preparation of these discourses, occupying Friday afternoon and Saturday, consumed the hours which might have been claimed for rest and relaxation.

"But this illustration has carried me farther than I intended; so far, I fear, that I may seem to have lost sight of its original design. You will, however, all observe the point to which it tends. It is to show that in this, the most general sense, we all feel responsible for the acts of those with whom we stand connected, even in the most common relations. We rejoice in their well-doing, and are pained at the sight of their folly and their sin. And you will all perceive at once that this feeling of responsibility is stronger, and its action is more decided, as the relation which gives rise to it is narrower and more exclusive. We are more sensitive to the good or evil conduct of a native of our own state than of one who is merely an American citizen. We are more strongly moved by the acts of a townsman than of a native of the same state. We are still more deeply affected if he who has done well or ill is our kinsman, our friend, or our brother. To be even remotely related to one who has deserved well of his country, is a heritage more valuable than wealth, and we hand down to other ages the evidences of our relationship, —

'And dying mention it within our wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto our issue.'

"But it will be obvious that to none of the relations which exist among us are these remarks so applicable as to that of parents and children. There is here not a seeming, but a positive responsibility. The parent is intrusted by God with authority over the child. To him is committed the duty of forming the character of his offspring, of correcting his defects, of fostering his virtues, and of instilling into his mind those principles which must lie at the foundation of his future manhood. The life of the man is generally held to be the exponent of the education which he has received from his parents. No one speaks of the Gracchi without, at the same time, remembering the mother of the Gracchi. No one mentions Washington without also honoring the mother of Washington. Indeed, so far has this sentiment been carried by some nations, that they have held the parent legally responsible, during his whole life, for the actions of his children ; rewarding him, and not them, if they have acted well ; punishing him, and not them, if they have acted unworthily.

"Now, to meet the demands of this relation, there have been implanted in our nature all the needful propensities. In infancy the care of the child devolves almost exclusively upon the mother, and the manner in which she discharges this duty has passed into a proverb. Her self-denying care for her babe has ever been, among all nations and in all ages, the highest conception which we can form of disinterested affection. She will toil till life itself is exhausted that she may furnish sustenance to her little ones. When gasping in the deadly faintness of famine, she will pass the untasted morsel to her babe. Shivering in the winter's storm, she will strip herself of covering to save her child from freezing. In shipwreck she will beseech with tears a place for her infant in the long-boat, and go down, without a murmur, in the foundering bark. Nor are we ever astonished at beholding such scenes of self-devotion. We look at them as the expected and ordinary workings of a mother's heart. Were it not so — did she act otherwise — did she seek her own safety at the expense of her offspring, we should look at her with horror, and declare that, in not loving her child better than herself, she had proved herself false to the primary instinct of her maternal nature.

"As the child grows up to boyhood and youth, the care of him is devolved more directly upon the father. And here you behold the same impulse carried into action with almost similar results. The object of the father is to prepare his son for manhood, and to give him every advantage for performing his part in life with success.

That he may be enabled to do this, what labor is too exhausting, what care too corroding, what self-denial too severe? You behold around you on every side the putting forth of ceaseless toil. In all the departments of life, whether agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, or professional, from early dawn to drowsy twilight, muscle and sinews, body and mind, are strained to their utmost point of tension. The results of all this activity are most carefully husbanded. The dollar and the cent are scrupulously laid aside and thoughtfully invested. When gains begin to accumulate, the man still toils on with undiminished energy; his raiment scarcely less coarse, and his relaxations hardly more numerous. He has all that he needs for himself, but he chooses to be still bending over his task. He looks forward to no release until death, and expects no other end than to die in the harness.

"Now, if you were to go among these busy multitudes, who are laboring on the wharf, or in the counting-room, in the field, the factory, or the office, and ask them why this ceaseless exertion, what think you would be their answer? Would it be, that they were endeavoring to secure for themselves ease, or rank, or pleasure? Far from it. They would tell you of the family at home, who were growing up, and who were depending on them for the means of support, and the opportunity of preparation for future usefulness. It matters not how hard the parent may toil; he bears it patiently, that so he may render the life of his child less irksome. It matters not how neglected may have been the education of the father; he will see to it that the education of his son be not neglected. He may have been cast off in boyhood to buffet with the storm, and struggle with it as for life, but he will labor without ceasing that his children may commence their career under happier auspices. In fact, this feeling, as we all see, is liable to be carried to excess, and men are commonly disposed to do more for their children than they really need; forgetting that the lesson of self-reliance can only be learned in the school of anxiety and hardship, and that it is taught us only by the severe discipline of personal responsibility and mortifying failure.

"It is a most interesting sight to behold one who has attained to some consideration among his fellow-men, watching with paternal solicitude over the education of his offspring. He will undergo the severest professional labor, and task his intellectual energies until they sink benumbed with paralysis, for the sake of placing his children under the most favorable and costly conditions of improvement that his country can afford. Nor is he satisfied when these are exhausted. He will toil on in solitude, at midnight, that his son may enjoy the advantages of European instruction. Every mail, with its frequent remittances, carries with it his lessons of wisdom and incitements to improvement. Gladly does he peril even life for the sake of enabling his child to commence his career from a more advantageous starting-point than he himself enjoyed, and to hand down unsullied to another generation the name which he has with so much effort rendered illustrious.

"But a still stronger case than this is yet more frequently seen. Amidst the families of restricted means in our land, it is not uncommon to observe talent of unusual promise; for in this gift the poor share as liberally as the rich. The natural feeling of which I have spoken leads the parents to wish that the child thus endowed may enjoy fit advantages for developing that talent which, to them at least, seems to have been so largely bestowed. The course, however, is long, and the outlay such as must bear heavily upon every resource that has been placed at their disposal. Still, they and their other children resolve to make the sacrifice. The labor of the household is increased. Every expense is curtailed. The table is shorn of its slender luxuries, and the wardrobe is rendered plainer and more scanty. Thus year after year of self-denial — honorable, noble self-denial — is endured, that the son and brother may wear clothes such as they do not wear, eat from a table such as they do not spread, devote himself to quiet study while they are exhausted with toil, and enter upon a sphere of professional eminence where they know that they can never follow him. It is in such unobtrusive examples as these that we see the true nobleness of man; and no country on earth presents them in greater number than our own.

"And what is the reward which the parent hopes to receive from all this lavish expenditure? Does he expect that it will ever be repaid? Far from it; for the parents lay up for the children, and not the children for the parents. Does he anticipate that in his declining years the self-denial which he has suffered will be repaid by similar self-denial, in his behalf, by his child? Far, very far from it. This thought never once enters his mind. All that he desires is, that his son may wisely improve the advantages which are purchased for him at so great cost. If that son, with honest and faithful assiduity, devote himself to the acquisition of knowledge; if he resolutely form those habits of honorable and virtuous self-government which are absolutely necessary to success; if he spurn from him the examples of the bad, and turn away his ear from listening to the principles which lead to shame; if, while doing this, he act from motives of piety, and set the Lord always before his face, that he sin not against him, — then is every wish of a father's heart gratified. Then, as, from time to time, he welcomes home his son, and observes the evidence of improvement in his expanding faculties and enlarged knowledge, in his principles more firmly fixed, and manners more decorous and gentlemanlike, in judgment more matured, and affections more confiding and grateful, — then it is that the heart of the parent leaps for joy; then do all his self-sacrifices seem over and over repaid, and the sentiment of the text is fully illustrated, A wise son maketh a glad father.

"But what shall we say if all this picture be reversed? What if the son, as soon as he has escaped from under the eye of his parents, become forgetful of all filial obligation? What if every opportunity of improvement be neglected, and the time which is thus dearly purchased for him be spent in dreamy idleness, in frivolous or vicious reading, or in the company of the impure and profligate? What if the funds wrung, it may be, by ambiguous representations, from the self-sacrificing earnings of parents, be consumed in boyish sport, or sensual gratification; what if the young man who was early taught to fear God has learned already to scoff at religion and to make a mock at sin; what if, as he returns home at the close of every term, a more and more decided testimony of his worthlessness follow him; if, as his ignorance becomes more apparent, his arrogance become more insufferable; what if the contagion of his example begin to corrupt his younger and more virtuous brothers at home; and finally, what if it be needful to remove him from an insti tution to which his character has become an offence no longer to be borne? Then is it that the cup of a parent's misery is filled. Then is a foolish son a heaviness to her that bare him.

"It has been my lot to witness most of the ordinary forms of human sorrow, but never have I been called to sympathize in any so hard to be endured as that occasioned by filial ingratitude. I have heard the father recount his sacrifices and those of his family for his son, and then narrate, what I too well knew, the manner in which these sacrifices have been requited. I have seen tears coursing down the sun-burnt cheeks of a gray-headed man, while sobs that choked his utterance told of a grief which language could not unfold. I have felt at such a time that earth had no consolation for such a mourner. I could do nothing but mingle my tears with the broken-hearted man, and commend him, from my inmost soul, to God, who is the Comforter of those that be cast down.

"It will, I know, be said that these are extreme cases; that few are as thoughtful as the former, and few as reckless as the latter, of these instances suggests. I am perfectly aware of this. There are not many who wring their parents' hearts with anguish such as I have described; but, on the other hand, the praise which we bestow on the young man who is ever thoughtful of his parents' feelings, and grateful for his parents' sacrifices, teaches us that such examples of filial duty are also rare. But why, I ask, should they be so rare? Is it a very remarkable attainment of virtue for a young man to embrace the opportunities of attaining to honor and distinction which are freely placed before him? Is it an act of preëminent goodness to requite kindness with affection, to be grateful for favors purchased by labors, self-denials, and privations, which are endured for you, and have no other object than your own well-being? If a man be thoughtful and grateful, reason itself teaches us that he does no more than his duty; while to fail in this cardinal point exposes him justly to our severest reprehension.

"Now, I by no means intend to affirm that an utter disregard of the happiness of parents is common among young men. It is, on the contrary, quite uncommon. A portion of filial affection is frequently an element in the character even of the most reckless. It may be overlaid by a variety of bad habits and vicious sentiments; but any violent disruption of ordinary relations is likely to bring it to the surface. When a young man falls into disgrace, it usually happens that the pain which he thus inflicts upon his parents is the bitterest ingredient in his cup of sorrow. This always affords reason for hope. It shows that the man has not become wholly worthless. And not unfrequently have I seen this strong principle of our nature the means of recalling a young man to virtue, when hope from every other source had long been abandoned.

"It is not, then, from deliberate and heartless ingratitude that the young so frequently inflict pain upon their parents. It is from thoughtlessness and utter want of consideration. They do not think of consequences in respect to themselves, and they do not think of them in respect to others. They have no idea of the joy which they can create by doing well, nor of the misery which they must occasion by doing ill. It is on this very account that I have taken occasion, young gentlemen, to set these things plainly before you. I do it now that you may go home with these considerations distinctly before you. I do it because you will have the opportunity, very soon, of judging from your own observation whether I have said truly. It is on this very account that our college vacations occur so frequently. We wish you to be as often as possible brought under the influence of home, and to be at short intervals reminded of the obligations which the filial relations so manifestly impose upon you. Permit me, in closing this discourse, to suggest a few reflections which may tend to deepen these convictions, which I cannot but hope already exist in your minds upon this subject.

"1. Regard to the feelings of parents has a manifest tendency to cultivate refinement of character. It teaches us to act continually from the most amiable and praiseworthy impulses of our nature. We thus learn to do, or to refrain from doing, not for ourselves, but for others. We acquire the habit of acting for the happiness of those who love us best, in the place of seeking our own ease, or pleasure, or sensual gratification. He who has formed these habits is surely developing in himself every disposition that can render him estimable among men, or prepare the way for his future success. As he enters into life, and takes his place in society, he will only need to transfer to his friends, and to the world at large, the sentiments which he has cherished towards his parents, and he can scarcely fail to become an amiable and accomplished man.

"2. The habit which he cultivates lies at the foundation of all moral attainments. You all know that to regard the feelings of parents, while we are absent from them, is to place ourselves under the control of an *unseen* law, written on our hearts, and read there only by ourselves. Now, this is the very principle from which all virtuous conduct proceeds. He who has learned to obey such a law in one case, will the more readily obey it in another. And hence it is, that, in all ages, obedience to parents has been considered the germ of all honorable conduct in after life, and the unfailing augury of future success. And I think that all observers of human nature will bear me out in the assertion that the future career of a young man can be more certainly predicted from this single element of character, than from any other that can be mentioned.

"3. Remember that the relations which you sustain to your parents must soon, in the order of nature, terminate. It may reasonably be expected that they will die before you. Then it will be impossible to remedy the errors or supply the defects of the past. When this sad hour shall arrive, no one can estimate the alleviation which it will prove to your sorrow to reflect that you have never given needless pain to the venerable form that lies cold in death. Nor can any one tell how exquisite will be your grief, if, as you behold that countenance that can never again reciprocate your look of love, you recollect that your conduct has forced tears from those sunken eyes, that your misdoings have wrung that heart with anguish, and that your thoughtless ingratitude has brought those gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. As you would secure peaceful composure in that trying hour, and as you would avoid the anguish of remorse to which it may consign you, I beseech you now to remember that 'a wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother.'

"Again, let us observe that success in any of our pursuits is ever the gift of God. 'A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps.' You can expect to attain to no success without his blessing. You must inevitably fail in all your undertakings, if you act under his displeasure. Now, you all very well know that of the moral laws which he has given us, this is the only one to which he has affixed a definite promise. 'Honor thy father and thy mother, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that thy days may be prolonged, and that it may be well with thee in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.' This is not a commandment to the Israelites alone, for the apostle repeats it as a commandment and promise to us. We have, then, the law of God to each one of us. If we obey it, we may claim the promise of his gracious protection. When you can so easily and honorably obtain it, would you go forth into life without such a guarantee?

"In fine, let us all look back over the year which is now drawing to a close. There is not one of you who does not stand in this relation, and who is not under these obligations, either to parents now living, or to those already with God. In many things you have all, I doubt not, come short of your duty. Your diligence might have been more earnest, your self-government more exemplary, your regard to your parents more constantly in exercise, and your affection to them more thoughtful and respectful. I trust you all regret a failure in these respects, even in the least degree. Let us then recall the past with penitence, and look forward to the future with sincere resolutions of amendment. May you all return to your homes bearing evidence of such improvement in intellect and character as shall gladden the hearts of those who love you. May God preserve you and yours during this approaching season of relaxation, and by his blessing may we meet here again, earnestly resolved to spend the next year in a manner worthy of the advantages which God in his mercy has bestowed upon us.

"I cannot close these chapel discourses for the present term, young gentlemen, without a brief reference to the time which we have spent together. When we first assembled in this place, on our return from vacation, I took occasion to offer to you such advice as our situation seemed to demand. It is therefore proper that I should express to you the pleasure which I feel in believing that my advice was useful to you, or, what is still better, that your own correct principles rendered this advice unnecessary. I think I may say with truth, that in no collegiate term since my connection with this institution have we done more work, or in a more scholar-like manner. Your instructors, young gentlemen, bear united testimony to your punctuality, successful application, and gentlemanlike deportment. Unless all the indications with which I am acquainted have proved fallacious, you have all made decided progress in intellectual and moral character. It is most delightful to us to bear this testimony. It cheers us in our labor. We thank God and take courage.

" Since we first assembled here, at the commencement of this term, several of us have been visited with sickness: one is now seriously ill, and one of our number has been summoned to the bar of God. We part in a few days; but shall we all meet here again? How easily are our plans frustrated by the approach of sickness or the touch of death! All these events should remind us of the uncertainty of everything earthly, and the importance of being reconciled to God, and ever living in preparation for our last change. Let not, then, the joys of a return to your friends render you thoughtless respecting your immortal interests. Remember you are everywhere forming character for eternity. Everywhere you are consuming the time allotted by God for your probation. See, then, that it be not spent in vain.

" Before the opening of another term the present academic year will have closed, and a new one will have commenced. This little era in our existence should suggest to us thoughts that should make us better. It is a suitable season for a review of the past. We should examine the history of the year just closing, and ask what report it has borne to heaven, and how it might have borne more welcome news. It is a suitable season for resolutions of amendment and progress. Time past is beyond our power. Neither prayers nor tears can recall the moment that has flown. The future will receive its character from our decision. Let us then, if we are spared to enter upon a new year, commence it with a solemn determination to spend it in the fear of God, and in serious preparation for eternity. Let us look up to God for his grace to assist us, and this grace is never wanting to those who seek for it aright. Thus commencing the year in the fear of God, we may confidently look up to him for his blessing; and whether we see the close of it or not, will be a matter of indifference to us, for, 'absent from the body, we shall be present with the Lord.'"

CHAPTER XIII.

BIBLE CLASS. — RELIGIOUS INTERCOURSE WITH PUPILS REVIEWED. — RELATIONS TO FACULTY. — TENDENCY OF HIS TEACHINGS.

POWERFUL for good as were the daily religious exercises of the college chapel, the Sabbath services, and the frequent opportunities of personal conversation, they were far from satisfying Dr. Wayland's anxious concern for the spiritual welfare of his pupils. Early in his administration he commenced a Sunday evening Bible class. The careful and critical study of the Scriptures, to which he had already devoted so much of his time, and the invaluable treasures of biblical lore which he had derived from the teaching of Professor Stuart, were an admirable preparation for such an exercise. The manner in which this class was conducted, and the salutary influence which it exerted among the undergraduates of the university, are happily presented in the reminiscences of Dr. Bailey.

"Dr. Wayland's Bible class became somewhat famous. It met on Sabbath evenings in the old chapel. He commenced with the study of the Epistle to the Romans. The examination of this portion of the Scriptures proceeded slowly. Each verse, and, when necessary, each word, was closely scrutinized, and its exact meaning and force determined. What the apostle affirms in regard to man's moral nature was made a topic of special investigation.

"With unfaltering step Dr. Wayland conducted his pupils over the ground traversed by the apostle. He listened patiently to all inquiries, heard and considered all objections, and discovered a reply to both in that wonderful utterance of inspiration. What it declared, he repeated; when it was silent, he did not seek to supply the omission. Although I was not myself a Christian at the time to which I refer, and did not often attend the 'doctor's Bible class,' yet I could not associate with the religious undergraduates without hearing frequently of the wonderful things said on Sabbath evenings in the college chapel. My room-mate, a pious young man studying for the ministry, was laborious in preparing for this exercise, and constant in his attendance. He always entered our room on his return with some expression of admiration. When we conversed on the subject of religion, my dissent from his views was frequently met with a wish that I had heard what the 'old doctor' had said on that subject in the Bible class. I soon found that I had to grapple not alone with my room-mate, a young man of respectable promise, but, in the last resort, with the president himself, and with the wonderful institution of which he was the presiding genius. In visiting other rooms, I discovered that the subjects discussed on the Sabbath were not forgotten during the succeeding week or weeks, but continued to give rise to interested and animated conversation, and usually to conviction.

"This Bible class, in his hands, became a power, and gained a reputation extending far beyond the walls of the college. It even excited, it was rumored, the jealousy of a theological institution then struggling for a place in the affections of the churches. It was hinted that the student preparing for the ministry at Brown, after attending the instructions given in that class for four years, did not feel that he greatly needed a course of lectures from a professor in didactic theology. It was hinted, indeed, that those who pursued their theological studies in a seminary, sometimes annoyed their instructors by too frequent allusions to the views and opinions which had been advanced in the chapel of their *alma mater*.

"By these varied and prolonged efforts, as well as by his labors in the pulpit, soundness of faith was secured to the university. Yet what he most of all desired was for a considerable time withheld. Year after year he prayed, labored, and watched for a revival; but it came not.

"Some time during the year 1833, Mrs. Wayland, then in feeble health, invited several pious ladies to join her, at her house, in special prayer for a revival of religion in college. For a long time they sought this great blessing apparently in vain. At last, however, soon after the commencement of the winter term of 1834, there was a cloud, which, though small, sustained their hopes. There was increased interest in the weekly college prayer-meeting. Religion became more and more the subject of conversation. Christians gave evidence of new activity and quickened zeal. The impenitent were visited, and prayed for and with. Each class met by itself in a private room, and untiring efforts were made to secure the attendance of all. Christians confessed with tears their unfaithfulness, and entreated those with whom they had been intimate, no longer to neglect salvation. Soon new-born souls added their appeals to those of older Christians.

"This revival — the first under his administration — occurred after years of anxious labor, and was the consummation of his desires and hopes. During it all, his state of mind was truly heavenly ; humble, tender, prayerful, solicitous now for this one and now for that one, and incessant in his efforts to persuade all his pupils to be reconciled to God. His conversations, his exhortations, his sermons, his prayers, seemed to me more eloquent and melting than anything I had ever heard from mortal lips.

"Meanwhile, at his home, one who had shared with him the toils and the trials of faith was rapidly sinking into the arms of death. Constantly he was expecting to be called from his lecture-room, or from his study, or from the prayer-meeting, to hear her last words and to bid her a last farewell. I have seen him start, almost convulsively, when his little son entered the recitation-room, supposing that the child had come to bring tidings of the near approach of the final hour. Throughout the weeks of that eventful term, amid all these conflicting emotions, he was calm, subdued, affectionate, sad, cheerful.

"We shall never see his like again. His mantle has not descended upon any of us."

Notwithstanding the extent and variety of Dr. Wayland's efforts to promote the spiritual welfare of his pupils, he by no means believed that he had done his full duty in this respect. While to others he seemed, even tested by the most exalted standard of moral obligation, to have labored to the utmost limit of his mental and physical capacity, his rare modesty, and his severe criterion of duty led him to put a very low estimate upon what he had accomplished. In the sight of his Maker he even felt convicted of moral delinquency. Upon this point the following extract from his personal reminiscences will be read with deep and affecting interest: —

"So far as labor is concerned, I cannot charge myself with dereliction of duty. In another respect I am conscious of serious cause of regret. I did not rely, as I ought to have done, upon the blessing of God, without which no amount of exertion can succeed. I did not make my labors the subject of earnest prayer, but depended too much upon personal effort. I had, of course, a general sense of dependence on God, and of reliance on his goodness in the discharge of duty. I did not make this sufficiently special, in view of the fact that all my efforts were utterly valueless without the divine blessing.

"I did not pay suitable attention to the cultivation of the religious character of my pupils. I am aware of the influence which an instructor is capable of wielding in this respect; but I did not adequately exert it. It is true that I frequently joined the young men in their religious meetings, and endeavored to speak to them directly and solemnly. This I did as often as they desired. In times of particular attention to religion I gave myself up primarily to their spiritual instruction. For several years I preached regularly in the chapel for their special benefit, preparing a sermon every week. But this was not enough. I should have allowed no student to leave college, especially those under my particular instruction, without having a private, earnest, faithful conversation with him on the subject of his eternal interests.

"Year after year I resolved to do this; but I did it only in part. I sometimes appointed evenings for conversation with those who desired an interview for this purpose. I often sent for individuals with this express design; but it turned out, at the close of each year, that many left me, perhaps forever, on whom I had never urged attention to religion, and before whom I had never set forth their danger of eternal destruction. If I had plainly and resolutely done this, I should probably have been of more real service to my pupils than I accomplished by all my other labors in connection with the college.

"In this respect I fear that officers of colleges greatly err. They are, in most colleges in New England, and in the Northern States (and I am acquainted with no others), professors of religion, and often clergymen. They are expected to exercise a positive religious influence upon their pupils. But I apprehend that such expectation is frequently disappointed. For the most part, they set before the students a proper example, and sometimes refer to religion, when such a reference is manifestly demanded by the subject under immediate consideration; but the reference is rather such as would be made by any observer of the historical laws of cause and effect, than what would naturally be expected from those whose distinction is, that they are 'the salt of the earth,' 'the light of the world.' If every instructor in every college in our land felt himself personally responsible for the spiritual well-being of every young man under his charge, a collegiate life would cease to be a season of danger, and frequently of sore temptation. God would crown with his special blessing all honest efforts for the religious improvement of the undergraduates, and an academical society would become a nursery for heaven."

We have thus far considered Dr. Wayland only in his relations to his pupils. The following letter from Professor William Gammell describes the nature of his intercourse, official and social, with those gentlemen who so efficiently aided him in the labors of collegiate education: —

"You request me to give you some account of the relations, both official and social, which Dr. Wayland, while president of Brown University, was accustomed to hold with his associates in the Faculty of instruction. I was with him there for twenty-three years. Entering the Faculty soon after my graduation, I grew up in it from being the junior tutor until I was at length one of the senior professors. My mind is so full of recollections of the president, who was first my teacher, and afterwards through life my associate and friend, that I hardly know how to arrange and state them so as to set forth his character as it used to present itself in our daily intercourse. His relations to those connected with him changed somewhat, as a matter of course, with the progress of his life; but I will attempt to illustrate them as they existed in the vigor and noonday of his career, and, for the most part, without reference to any one period rather than another.

"1. No one feature of his official character, I am sure, is more conspicuous in the recollections of his associates, than his pervading sense of the responsibility of his position as the head of the college, and especially as the guardian and teacher of young men. This feeling he used constantly to express; and he always desired his associates to share it, as a condition, so to speak, of their own success, as well as of the prosperity of the college. He was in the habit of referring very frequently to the property which, for the time, we were using, and to the duty of guarding it from injury and loss, to the dignity of an instructor's work, to the moral trusts involved in the care of young men, especially when away from home, and to the hopes and expectations of parents.

"If any of us officially mentioned to him the case of a student who was not doing well in his studies or in his conduct, he would almost invariably inquire if we had used our best endeavors to keep him up to the mark and save him. He would often remind us that if it should become necessary to send the young man home to his parents, he must be able to say that the college had done its utmost to benefit him. He always sympathized most deeply with the pain which a measure of extreme discipline would be likely to produce in the family circle to which the student belonged; saying that nothing was more trying than to be obliged to tell the truth to a parent about an idle or wayward son.

"This feeling of responsibility arose in part from his profound estimate of the transcendent importance of character, as compared with even the most advantageous gifts of fortune, and in part from his religious views of human life. He believed in it as an opportunity given to us for work and for culture, as a season of probation, as the spring-time of the immortality to come. To have the best portion of it wasted by any of those for whose training he was in any degree responsible, gave him the utmost concern. If anything occurred in the conduct of a student, or in the general course of the college, indicating a low moral tone, he seemed always to blame himself that it had not been anticipated and guarded against. In the earlier part of his presidency, his standard in some of these respects was, perhaps, an unattainable idea; but its existence in his own mind gave a sort of heroic energy to his administration of the college, which we were all obliged to share. He constantly admonished us to give attention to the first wrong step in any young man, and to seek to prevent its repetition. *Obsta principiis* was a motto which he always had in mind.

"2. He was himself, as all his pupils will remember, an enthusiastic teacher. He was a great master in the art of imparting knowledge and discipline to the minds of others. He also possessed, in a remarkable degree, the power of awakening thought and kindling aspirations after excellence. On assuming the presidency of the college, he had introduced a system, both of instruction and discipline, far more thorough and exact than had before prevailed there, or was common in any of our colleges fifty years ago. The younger officers, in my time, had been trained to this system while they were undergraduates; and I well remember the lively interest which Dr. Wayland used to manifest, when I was a tutor, in all our efforts to maintain it. He perfectly appreciated the difference between genuine teaching and all its manifold imitations, and he would never tolerate anything that aimed to substitute the appearance for the reality. He detested *shams* of all sorts, and had no respect for those who were willing to resort to them. On the other hand, he held work in very high esteem, whether in officer or in student; and he wished to have that work done by both as thoroughly and as liberally as possible.

"The system of instruction which he introduced made it necessary, not only that the general subject, but also the particular lesson of the day, should be in the mind both of the teacher and the pupil. He paid particular attention to all the examinations, and judged of the success of every instructor, and also of his style of instruction, very much by the manner in which the members of a class acquitted themselves on these occasions. By pursuing this course, the college soon came to have a standard of its own, which was always before us, and attended us as a perpetual presence, from term to term, and from year to year. It was a standard, moreover, which at length came to be as distinctly recognized by the students as by the instructors themselves.

"3. The laws and usages of our college have placed a larger authority in the hands of the president, and have made him personally responsible for its management in a greater degree than is true of most other colleges. But, at the same time, it was the habit of Dr. Wayland to consult very freely with members of the Faculty respecting every measure of importance relating either to the internal or the external affairs of the institution. The changes inaugurated in 1850, and known as the 'new system,' sprang from his own reflections and inquiries concerning the proper functions of higher education, and, as such, were submitted to the corporation, and received their sanction. But until that time I do not recall a single instance in which the nomination of an officer, whether professor or tutor, was made to the corporation without the advice of the Faculty, or in which any measure of importance that concerned the interests of the college was decided upon without their sanction and coöperation. He regarded our common position as, in some sort, a partnership, in the management of which all should have a voice, at least in the way of counsel, if not of legal authority.

"4. In matters of discipline in our respective spheres, he favored the fullest exercise of personal authority on the part of every member of the Faculty, and he invariably gave his own official support to what another had found it necessary to do. He encouraged no appeals from professors or tutors to the president. No fear was felt, on the part of either, that he would ever seek to promote his own popularity or comfort at the expense of that of his associates. His standing direction, even to the youngest officers, invariably was, that they should first exhaust their own resources in every case of discipline which arose in their classes, and bring it to his attention only when they had failed to adjust it for themselves. Whenever it became necessary, he bore unflinchingly and magnanimously the odium of every measure, no matter what was its origin, which the good of the college seemed to require. He especially deplored a bad precedent in administration, and had a genuine dread of the vicious example and the contagion of idleness among students. He often told us that we should be ashamed to meet our pupils in after life, if we had suffered them to waste their time without restraint, or to ruin themselves by unreproved dissipation.

"5. Dr. Wayland was at no period of his life what is called a man of society. His habits were those of a man of thought and of recluse study. But he possessed in an unusual degree the endowments and the resources which are required for the fullest enjoyment and the largest influence in cultivated society. His conversational powers were of a high order. He had a vast fund of wit, anecdote, and interesting knowledge; such as have often given celebrity to literary men as 'Table Talkers,' or as prominent members of social circles. I have seen him when he appeared to the greatest advantage in the company of distinguished men and brilliant women; but he lived too habitually apart from such scenes to mingle in them with the fullest zest. It is possible that his constant devotion to work, and his earnest views of life, may have been somewhat unfriendly to the perfect development of his rare social powers. His attachments and sympathies, however, were very strong, and they constantly prompted him to seek the genial intercourse of other and kindred minds. He was also, at all periods of his life, much given to having intimate friends, with whom he freely counselled and communed. Most of his social intercourse was probably at his own home, where he was accustomed to dispense a liberal hospitality, and where he frequently gathered around him those in whose society he most delighted. He was, moreover, very mindful of the social duties incident to his position as president. He entertained, in some way or other, most of the persons of literary distinction who visited Providence from abroad, and constantly invited to his house his brethren in the ministry, and those who came to consult him in connection with matters pertaining to the college.

"But it is of his social relations with the officers of the university that you desire me more especially to write.

To them all, I may say, his house was a place of frequent and familiar resort, although his relations to them differed with different persons in their degrees of intimacy. To the younger members of the Faculty, I remember, he was particularly attentive, and ever mindful of the solitary life they led, residing, as they did at that time, within the walls of the college.

"In those earlier days we dined with him almost always on Saturdays. Very often, after evening meetings of the Faculty, which, I believe, are everywhere considered the most stupid of conclaves, he would invite us to remain at his house, and share in some extemporized entertainment, as an offset to the weary routine of college affairs. In many other ways, also, did he bind his associates to him in the daily intercourse of life. Even in his busiest days he was always accessible for consultation in every professional perplexity. Indeed I have never known a man so full of generous sympathies and ready consolation for every personal trouble or sorrow.

"In the summer season his early morning hours, and sometimes those at the close of the day, were spent in his garden, among the vegetables, and flowers, and fruits, which he cultivated very largely, with his own hands, with a skill and success that awakened universal admiration. He took great pleasure and pride in these products of his industry, and was always delighted, when, as very often happened, he excelled any of the professional gardeners of the neighborhood. His familiar friends, and especially members of the Faculty, were in the habit of visiting his garden very frequently; and he was never happier or more genial than when narrating passages of his horticultural experience, or calling attention to some curious process of nature which he had observed, or pointing out the prospective yield which promised to reward his labors. He usually had, according to the progress of the season, some beautiful flower, some luxuriant vegetable growth, or some ripening fruit, to commend to the notice of the visitor. He never failed to embrace such an opportunity to illustrate the bounties of nature. Sometimes also the traces of noxious insects would naturally suggest to him reflections concerning the origin and purpose of evil in the world. Those persons who never visited Dr. Wayland in his garden in the summer or autumn, have failed to see him in one of his most interesting and characteristic moods.

"At other seasons of the year he was exceedingly fond of walking in the country, always seeking companionship on such occasions. The evening prayers of the college, until they were abolished in 1850, were invariably at five o'clock. On the dismissal of the students, he would very commonly summon some of us to join him in the walk to the Seekonk River, going by one road and returning by the other. This had always been the favorite walk of academics, both young and old, and the banks of the Seekonk are associated with the college memories of every generation of students. Although now, for much of the way, lined with houses, and the popular drive of the wealth and fashion of the town, this ancient road, five and twenty or thirty years ago, was rural and secluded, full of attractive scenery of meadow and grotto, of wooded hill and flowing river, and pervaded throughout its whole extent with the tranquillity always so grateful to reflective and studious minds.

"In these walks, which were continued through many years, he would often do all the talking himself, especially when accompanied only by his juniors; sometimes on a question suggested by a companion, sometimes opening the results of his own recent reading, or perhaps recalling, in connection with the public incidents of the time, anecdotes, stories, and reminiscences of well-known characters, with which his mind was largely stored. Grave as were his daily studies, and serious as was his habitual tone of thought, those who mingled thus freely in his society amidst the scenes to which I have alluded, knew him to be exceedingly fond of both humor and of wit, and to be capable of a mirthfulness that was in singular contrast with other moods of his mind. He had a remarkable memory of anecdotes and incidents, of passages of literature and images of every kind which savored of the ludicrous; and the slightest occasion would often call them forth in long succession, with the utmost merriment to himself, as well as to others. He had read, in his day, a great deal of light literature, although he had no fancy for such as is now most in vogue. I remember being much with him, long ago, at a time when he was suffering from an affection of the eyes, and being surprised at his extensive and varied acquaintance with the English poets. He not only knew all that was worth remembering in Young and Cowper, but he could repeat from memory many of the best passages of Goldsmith, Burns, and Scott. He was also unusually familiar with the sonnets of Milton and Shakspeare, as well as with their grander works. A little later than this he wrote and presented to a friend a brief critique on the minor poems of Milton, which, if it could now be found, might be ranked among his best executed pieces of composition. His familiarity with such literature, although not very extensive, was yet so thorough as to be available alike in conversation and in the work of instruction; and it added greatly to his resources in both, while at the same time it revealed to his familiar associates a class of tastes and a phase of character which those who knew him only as a moralist and theologian did not imagine that he possessed.

"But I must close these reminiscences of my early instructor and life-long friend. I might greatly prolong them, for I delight to recall the earnestness and genuineness which made themselves felt in every circle in which he moved, the richness and instructiveness that marked his conversation, and the varied phases of his many-sided character that seemed to have touched human life at so many different points. It is, however, far easier to recall all these than it is to describe them; and I fear that, after all, I have done but little towards making him understood by those who did not know him before."

At a meeting of the graduates of Brown University, on the occasion of Dr. Wayland's decease, Dr. Caswell — a member of the Faculty from 1828 to 1864, said, —

"I was associated with Dr. Wayland for nearly thirty years; and, during that time, perhaps no day passed without our meeting and chatting upon some subject connected with the college, or with the church, or with the missions, or with the charities in our community. And though there were subjects, religious, political, and scientific, wherein we differed, yet I may say that, during that whole period, there never was an interruption in the confidential relations existing between us.

"So far as I can recollect, there was but one occasion on which I felt in the least hurt by anything which Dr. Wayland did, or in which I felt that there was any want of kindness or consideration. There was one such occasion. I did not understand his course. Our intercourse had been such that I was unwilling to allow any misunderstanding without seeking an open explanation. My own nature would not allow me to hold any position that was ambiguous; and I went to Dr. Wayland and told him how I felt. He turned to me and said, 'Caswell, I never meant it. I would not hurt your feelings for the world.' Never have I had so intimate intercourse with a man, continued with such uniform kindness. I have been with him in his own deep affliction — he has been with me in mine; and his spontaneous sympathy was always that of a brother, and I feel this day as though I had lost a brother."

We should do obvious injustice to the character of Dr. Wayland, as an educator, if we did not make some allusion to the tendency of his teachings. From what has already been said in reference to his peculiar method of instruction, our readers will have no difficulty in believing that he encouraged and inculcated independent and exact thinking on the part of his pupils. He constantly cautioned his classes against extensive reading, if unaccompanied by serious and patient reflection, frequently quoting the saying of Dr. Arnold to his scholars, "Young gentlemen, you come here not so much to read, as to learn how to read."

One of his pupils, a young man of fine abilities, was in danger of contracting habits of moral and mental dissipation, from a fondness for social indulgence and desultory reading. The president went to his room one day, and said to him, "C., you seem to be fond of poetry. Now, here is a volume of poems which I think you will enjoy. Suppose you read it." The young man, appreciating the attention thus paid him, and touched by the interest in him which it indicated, willingly followed the advice of his instructor, and a literary taste was awakened which had a powerful effect in leading him to a high standard of scholarship and character.

Several years later a student, who had not yet come under Dr. Wayland's personal instruction, was wasting his time in idleness, or in worse than useless reading. The president, after conversing with him kindly, said, "Here is Boswell's Life of Johnson. Take it to your room, read it carefully, write out your impressions of it, and then come and see me again." When the pupil returned the volume he was a new man. His mental reformation had commenced. Works of fiction had lost their attraction for him. He devoted himself to his studies with earnest purpose, and left college with an enviable reputation as a scholar. He became eminent alike in his profession and in literature, and has ever ascribed his intellectual salvation to the timely and parental counsels of Dr. Wayland.

He did not seek to put certain views into the mind of the pupil, but to call out and develop his original powers; to make each one a man of independent thought. A member of the class of 1845 observes, "Six words which Dr. Wayland once said to the Senior class were worth more than any words ever addressed to me — 'Young gentlemen, cherish your own conceptions.'" The closing words of the chapter on "Taste," in his Intellectual Philosophy, are in a similar spirit: —

> "In studying the works of others for our own improvement, one caution is to be observed. They are the production of fallible men, like ourselves. We are, therefore, to bring to the examination of every work of art the exercise of a calm, discriminating judgment, prepared to distinguish beauty from deformity wherever they exist. We must exercise our own taste, if we would cultivate our sensitive nature. When we study the works of others to awaken our own sensibilities, to correct our errors, and to arouse ourselves to emulation, we develop our own

faculties. But if we study only to bow before a master as we would worship our Creator, we become servile copyists and degraded idolaters. It is not impossible that our veneration for the ancients has in some degree produced this effect upon modern literature. . . . To study the works of others that we may be able to equal them, cultivates the power of original creation. To study them only that we may learn how to do feebly what they have done well, is fatal to all mental development, and must consign an individual, or an age, to the position of despairing and wondering mediocrity."

The following letters to a former pupil have a similar tendency: —

". . . The difference between a man who uses his own mind and the man who merely deals out what he has learned is as great as the difference between putting your hand into the fire and taking it out again. I do not wish you to go over the course as a well-trained charger, but like Scott's stag, —

'Stretching forward free and far
Seek the wild heaths of Uam Var.'

Where Uam Var is, I neither know nor care; but if a man stretches 'forward free and far,' he will surely come out somewhere."

". . . You have now entered upon that portion of your life when every day counts. Your mind should by this time have attained to a good degree of ripeness, and you ought to be preparing to go alone; to form your own judgments on events and conduct, and to be daily increasing in all sound knowledge. I say sound knowledge, as the time for frivolous pursuits is surely past. You should strive to cultivate your own mind, not merely by acquisition, but by so learning as to call forth and strengthen your original powers. You must not aim merely to use your intellectual instrument, but to perfect it by use; the latter being by far the most important consideration."

His fondness for the analytical method of teaching arose, in large measure, from his conviction that in no other way could the habit of logical thinking, and the power of concentrating all the mental faculties upon a given subject, be so surely and so speedily acquired. He was unwearied in urging his pupils never to write or speak until they knew precisely what they wished to say, and in what order they could say it with the greatest possible effect.

Counselling a young friend upon this point, he once observed, —

> "Were I to advise you on this subject, I should say, Study your plans thoroughly, sketch them out briefly, and reflect upon them carefully, before you write. Do not begin the work of composition until you have thought the matter well through, and so revised and corrected as to be well satisfied with it. Then, and not until then, write."

His experience as an instructor had given him abundant opportunities of observing how readily young men form the habit of speaking and writing without any definite purpose or well-defined aim, and it was his constant effort to counteract this unfortunate tendency. "Always have some distinct point in view," was an injunction which he often and earnestly impressed upon his pupils.

So much importance did he attach to this element of a thorough education, so essential did he consider it to eminence in any profession or calling in life, that he never hesitated to recommend it, not only to those under his immediate instruction, but to all in whose success his personal attachment inclined him to be peculiarly interested. Among these, was a clergyman long and favorably known in Providence, who says, —

> "Dr. Wayland frequently walked to church with me, and often sat with me in the pulpit. On such occasions he usually made the opening prayer. Before this exercise he would invariably ask me, 'What is the point of your sermon?'—designing to make his prayer appropriate to the theme of my discourse. If I could not give him a clear conception of what I proposed to say to my people, he would seem disappointed. And this led me, in time, to seek in each sermon for some definite idea to be pre-

sented, some systematic and logical plan of the subject under consideration. If I have had any success as a preacher, it has been mainly due, under God, to the suggestions, in regard to the construction of my sermons, which I received, from time to time, from Dr. Wayland."

In his criticisms upon the sermons and other public addresses of his former pupils, he never lost sight of this cardinal principle of all his teachings. Speaking of a young divine, whose sermons rarely presented any consecutive train of thought, and were sadly wanting in directness of application, he once remarked, with a good-humored twinkle of his eye, "The great difficulty about the preaching of —— is to discover precisely what he is after."

Clearness of expression was, in his view, hardly less important than clearness of thought. His own style was certainly a model of simplicity. He always sought to convey his ideas in the fewest and plainest words possible. Both his example and his precepts were opposed to obscure and involved modes of expression. Criticising a composition of one of his pupils, he once said, "Avoid long and complicated sentences. I had sometimes to read over a sentence twice. No man has a right to ask this of another."

At the commencement of his professional career he evidently cultivated his powers of imagination with much care. At this time his efforts towards his own mental development plainly pointed to æsthetics. Some of his early published discourses are characterized by a rare grace of diction, frequently rising into the regions of the grand and sublime. There are paragraphs in his writings, at this period of his life, which for rhetorical beauty and genuine eloquence can hardly be surpassed in English literature.

His work as an instructor, however, was necessarily of such a nature as to withdraw his attention more and more from the graces of style and the cultivation of the imaginative faculty. He found that the only text-book then accessible in the department of ethics was defective and unsound. Incapable of teaching a system that was at variance with his convictions, he sought to place the system of morals on a truer basis and in a clearer light. This labor he accomplished with such eminent success, that, in the words of a gentleman who was under his instruction during the third year of his presidency, "the Senior class seldom left his recitation-room, during the term when ethics was their study, without expressing their admiration at the skill and clearness with which he unfolded to them the elements of moral science."

Such labors, as a matter of course, removed him each year further and further from the walks of elegant literature, and confined him more and more closely to subjects embraced within the domain of practical science and vigorous action.* It resulted naturally that all the weight of his example had its inevitable effect upon the minds of his pupils. They also gravitated towards analysis and abstract thought, and away from æsthetics. While it would be incorrect to say that the legitimate tendency of his teachings was to discourage the careful cultivation of style, it may be safely asserted that his pupils received a peculiarly strong impulse in the direction of clear statement and robust thinking. The vigorous logic of that renowned lecture-room gave tone to their intellectual efforts.

Regarding the discipline of the faculties, rather than the acquisition of a given amount of knowledge, as being the object of a collegiate education, Dr. Wayland constantly aimed to call into active exercise every mental power of his pupils.

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* To this cause may be added the constant pressure on his time, created by the ever-present necessity of maintaining the temporal interests of the college, which left him little leisure for mental luxury, or purely æsthetic culture.

If the graduates of Brown University left their *alma mater* with minds trained to exact and logical thinking, accustomed to habits of patient and systematic industry, and inspired with a generous enthusiasm to improve to the utmost every opportunity for moral and intellectual advancement, these results were greatly due to the impulse imparted in his lecture-room. In the homely and expressive phrase of an eminent graduate, "He would hold a man right down to the subject, until he had brought his mind to an edge."

Another marked effect of his instruction was to inspire in his pupils an ardent love for truth. He was always seeking to discover some general principle in accordance with which every material fact in ethics should be classified. Such a fundamental truth, when once found, he followed fearlessly to its legitimate consequences. At an age when most men are satisfied with collecting isolated facts and recording individual experiences, he had formed the habit of dwelling long and frequently in the regions of abstract thought. Convictions which had not passed through the analytical process, opinions which he could not refer to some general principle, had little weight with him. What is expedient, what is popular, what will be likely to succeed, — did not long occupy his mind. But a train of thought proceeding from correct premises and carried forward by strictly logical connections, he willingly embraced with the independence which belonged to his generous nature. Sound moral reasoning had for him the force of mathematical demonstration. He was as certain that free trade is the great economical law of commerce, as was Galileo that the earth turns on its axis and revolves around the sun. That slavery is a moral wrong and a political blunder, was as clear to his mind as the plainest proposition in Euclid. How much he valued, and how earnestly he set before his pupils, "the glorious privilege of being independent" in the cause of truth, not one who enjoyed his instructions can have forgotten. Resting securely on fixed and immutable realities, as defined by the laws of God and the moral nature of man, he gave little heed to the hasty decisions of irresponsible majorities. Scarcely a volume did Dr. Wayland publish, scarcely a course of lectures did he deliver, which did not excite opposition in some quarter. His sentiments in regard to slavery were severely criticised by a class powerful, and even preponderating, at the time when he gave to the public his "Elements of Moral Science." He commenced his lectures on political economy when party strife ran high in regard to some of the fundamental principles of this science; and yet he seemed unaware that the public mind was excited on such questions. For some of the positions taken in his "Limits of Human Responsibility," he was fiercely assailed in the public press and in his personal correspondence. But he submitted in silence to all these complaints, at least so far as any public reply was concerned. Conscious of the rectitude of his motives, and of his simple and sincere desire to inculcate only what he believed to be true, he was willing to await the deliberate judgment of his fellow-men.

It is not surprising that this ardent and fearless attachment to truth gave him great moral influence with those who came under his instructions. Young as they were, they rarely failed to appreciate the earnestness of his convictions, and his disinterested devotion to the principles which he had embraced. In the words of one of his pupils, —*

"It was not necessary to follow Dr. Wayland, to be his admirer. It was not necessary to accept his opinions, to have the utmost reverence for him. A graduate a year older than myself, whose views upon theological and public questions were entirely diverse from those of Dr.

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* Hon. C. S. Bradley.

Wayland, and whose experience and observations in life have been as mature, perhaps, as those of any of us, told me that he had never seen so great a man as Dr. Wayland. Many of us, having found ourselves in distant countries, in some strange city, every person around us unknown, with no pleasant surrounding of friends to keep us on our course, facing the world alone, as it were, have found the precepts and the ideas of life which Dr. Wayland had given us, to be nearest to the core of our hearts. They were the truths upon which we rested.

"And what were those truths which we recall now from the lecture-room and the chapel? Were they not principally these — that life was a place where work was to be done 'as ever in the great Task-master's eye,' and that such work could not fail, although no signs of victory appeared in this life?

"Do we not always feel that his simple purpose was to get at the truth upon every subject which he presented to us? Was not that the central idea of the man in teaching us not to look for enjoyment, but for the truth? Would he not say, as he met us, 'I ask not, my son, what fame or position you have acquired; but have you sought the truth?'"

Another pupil has said, — *

"We think that one principal source of Dr. Wayland's personal power was the fact that his mind seemed to be, and was, *in more direct contact with truth* than is the case with the minds of most men. He appeared to be seeking for nothing else. Nothing seemed to intervene between his mind and the truth, to warp his vision or bias his judgment?"

Holding this allegiance to truth, and ever seeking to attain to it in theory and in action, he could not content himself with asking what has been said, what have men thought and believed. Everything must be brought to the standard of perfect rectitude. Regarding absolute goodness as the goal of human progress, he was eminently progressive.

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* Professor G. P. Fisher, in New Englander, January, 1866.

"In that struggle which is ever going forward between the *retiring* and the *coming* under the banners of conservatism and progress, in that ceaseless war which, from the very elements of human character and condition, must be waged, in one form or another, between the past and the future, on the battle-ground of the present, Dr. Wayland was always found, no less in his later than in his earlier years, in the advance of the party of progress. No man had a sublimer faith in the destinies of the race. No man, in anticipating those destinies, clothed them in the drapery of a more gorgeous imagination. The failures of the past could not shake his confidence in the future. From the mournful teachings of history even, he gathered an inner lesson of encouragement and hope. At no time had anything been really lost. The best forms of civilization which the world had seen, had, indeed, fallen into decay, or yielded themselves a prey to violence; but out of their ruins had emerged new civilizations, embodying all the best elements of the old, together with some higher principle, which in them was wanting. The thread of progress, which for a time seemed broken and turned backwards, reappears to guide our steps anew through the historic labyrinth." *

It belonged to Dr. Wayland's nature to be intensely in earnest about everything which he undertook. Life with him was a serious business, and time was of inestimable value. This spirit governed his daily labors, and inspired his daily teachings. He could not himself be idle, nor could he tolerate idleness in others. Upon instructors and pupils alike he ever inculcated the importance of patient and persistent industry. He discouraged all relaxation which tended to dissipate the mind, or to unfit the student for the profitable employment of the hours which should be devoted to serious study. How often have we heard him quote those memorable words addressed by the first Napoleon to the Polytechnic School: "Young gentlemen, never waste a half hour: if you do, the time will come when you will be embarrassed, and perhaps will fail of your destiny, for want of what you might have gained in that half hour." In private conversation, in his occasional addresses in the college chapel, and often in his sermons, he was accustomed, as we have seen, to remind the undergraduates of their obligations to those parents who had furnished them with the means of acquiring an education, and of their accountability to that Creator who had endowed them with faculties capable of indefinite improvement.

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* Commemorative Discourse of Professor Chace.

He never wearied of urging upon young men the vital importance of continuous, conscientious study — of forming the settled habit of close attention to the work in hand. Thus he writes to a young friend and pupil: —

> "Seek to acquire the power of continuous application, without which you cannot expect success. If you do this, you will soon be able to perceive the distance which it creates between you and those who have not such habits. You will not count yourself, nor will they count you, as one of them. Thus you will find yourself emerging into the higher regions of intellectual and earnest men; men who are capable of making a place for themselves, instead of standing idly gaping, desiring a place without the power to command it. Keep on striving to accomplish more and more every day, and thus enlarge constantly the range of your intellectual ability. If you learn to do as much work in one day as you used to do in two or three days, you are as good as two or three such men, as you formerly were, boiled down to one."

These earnest views of human life and of moral accountability had their natural effect not less upon his theory of college discipline, than upon his system of instruction. If his discipline seemed severe, it was only because he never lost sight of the grave responsibilities of his position. He could not consider any case of misconduct, any violation of college laws, without, at the same time, weighing the moral tendency of the offence.

He could not forget how much the four years spent in college contribute to form the character and determine the destiny of a young man. He was keenly alive to the injurious effects of evil example, and knew, by a certain rare and instinctive knowledge of human nature, how and when these dangerous influences could be most effectually counteracted or removed.

He felt that he had a duty to perform as well to the offending pupil as to his innocent comrades; and when there seemed to be no reasonable hope of reclaiming the culprit, he did not hesitate to terminate his connection with the college. And it naturally resulted that, —

> " As his moral power predominated over his intellectual, he was more successful both in investigating and in teaching moral than intellectual philosophy. The laws of conscience; the heinousness and the fatal results of sin; the unchangeableness of the divine laws; the immutableness of right; the power of habit; the right of every man to himself, and the consequent wrong of human slavery; the paramount duty of every man to develop his faculties to the utmost, and to live to the glory and honor of God, — these and kindred topics were discussed with such clearness and force, and illustrated so variously and so aptly, that we believe it to be literally true that no student, however thoughtless, ever pursued the study of moral philosophy under Dr. Wayland without receiving positive moral impressions which remained through life. You can hardly find one of his pupils who cannot repeat memorable utterances of the teacher, which have been to him maxims throughout his career. His original mind naturally coined striking and sententious expressions, which clung to the memory of his hearers. How many of the graduates of Brown University have we heard say, with grateful hearts, that they owe their success in life more to the intellectual and moral training they received from Dr. Wayland, than to any or all other causes! To his exalted standard of duty he held others with a strenuousness which sometimes seemed too severe. But he held himself as rigidly up to the same standard. Like all

strong men, he maintained his beliefs with such positiveness, that his opponents sometimes deemed him unjust to them. He was by no means lacking, as some have supposed, in sensitiveness to the approbation of his fellow-man. But he loved truth and duty better than human praise. Having carefully determined what he thought to be right, he would cling to that in the face of the whole world. He pursued his course so eagerly that he sometimes jostled, rather rudely, those who crossed his path. But it was only because he was so intent upon discharging his duty. No man was more desirous of doing full justice to the opinions of others. No one was more ready to acknowledge his error, and to change, when convinced that he was in error." *

In a review of Stanley's Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, in the North American Review for October, 1844, Dr. Wayland eulogizes the characteristics of that eminent educator in language which sets forth with singular exactness his own ideal of a successful teacher of youth: —

"When he went to Latham he adopted education as his profession. This determination effected a great change in his character. It brought upon him definite intellectual and moral responsibilities, which he strengthened himself to the utmost to sustain. He took large and very grave views of the field of duty upon which he had entered, and he resolved to occupy it without shrinking. He devoted himself without stint to the intellectual cultivation of his pupils. He sought to improve in the highest degree every one committed to his charge. Hence he was employed with great industry in enlarging his own mental resources.

"But, above all, he deemed it his duty to prepare his pupils for heaven. He felt that he must teach them by example as well as precept, if he desired his instructions to have any salutary effect. Hence all his moral powers received fresh energy from the circumstances in which he

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* President J. B. Angell, of the University of Vermont, in Hours at Home for December, 1865.

was placed. He was always setting before his boys the highest motives of Christian conduct; and these motives had the more commanding efficacy from the fact that their instructor was himself striving to be the exemplar of all that he inculcated."

We are but too well aware that we have most imperfectly presented the characteristics of Dr. Wayland as an instructor, and that those who never enjoyed the benefit of his teachings, or have never been themselves engaged in the work of instruction, may still find it difficult to discover the secret of his influence over young men, or adequately to appreciate his labors in the cause of education. The daily trials and perplexities incident to such a calling; the difficulty of dealing wisely and justly with indolent or wayward pupils; the importance of deciding every case of discipline in such a manner that, while due allowance is made for the inexperience of youth, a dangerous precedent may be avoided; the frequent and often painful interviews with parents and guardians; the labor of preparation for the exercises of the recitation-room, keeping pace with the progress of science, and embracing the ever-widening area of human knowledge; the varied and often delicate questions, which must arise from time to time, involving the respective rights and duties of associate instructors; and, above all, the vast responsibility of preparing the young, not only for usefulness in this life, but for happiness in the life to come, — all these and many kindred duties and cares of the teacher who labors in the fear of God, can be estimated at their true value only by the honored few who have devoted themselves with faithful and conscientious zeal to the cause in which he spent the best years of his life.

And yet it cannot be doubted that the graduates of Brown University, during the administration of President Wayland, will most heartily respond to the sentiments with which he concluded his remarks at the centennial anniversary, to which allusion has already been made.

> "Let me say, in a word, that I cannot express the pleasure I feel at seeing myself surrounded by such a number of my former pupils, in every one of whom I recognize a friend. I know, as I look upon your faces at this moment, that there is not one of you who does not believe, that, notwithstanding my many imperfections, my paramount motive was an honest intention to promote your highest and best good."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE "LIBRARY FUND." — MANNING HALL. — THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF PROVIDENCE. — THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INSTRUCTION. — THE PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM. — THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

WE have already referred to the earnest efforts which Dr. Wayland made, from the earliest years of his presidency, to improve the quality of the instruction imparted in the university, and to increase the facilities for acquiring knowledge. As we have seen, he found the institution poorly equipped for its work, with a small, ill-selected library, rarely used by students, and furnishing little assistance to the occasional visitor; with chemical and philosophical apparatus ludicrously inadequate (even tested by the low standard of that day) to the just requirements of a New England college.

He at once undertook to remedy these grave defects. By correspondence, by personal solicitation, by communications to the press, and by every legitimate method, he sought to interest the friends of the university and the public generally, in a subject so vital to the true interests of the college. At a meeting of the friends of Brown University, held in the summer of 1832, for the purpose of seconding the efforts then making to secure a permanent fund for the benefit of the library, and to provide suitable apparatus, addresses were made by several gentlemen in behalf of the proposed object. The remarks made by President Wayland, on this occasion, exhibited so broad, generous, and far-sighted a view of the kind of education adapted to the wants of this country, and stated so clearly the general principles which should lie at the foundation of all schemes for providing this education, that we make no apology for quoting the address in full.

" All efforts for intellectual improvement are comprehended under two classes: first, efforts for the advancement of science; and, secondly, for its universal diffusion. In the first instance, we enter the domain of knowledge, and discover the laws of the universe; and in the second, we put the knowledge thus attained within the reach of every grade of society. It is to the second of these objects that the labors of this country have been directed. We have established common schools in every portion of the older states, and by means of them the facilities for acquiring elementary education have been abundant.

" For the actual advancement of science, however, we have done almost nothing. We import our learning scantily from abroad. Even our universities have employed themselves in the diffusion, rather than in the advancement, of science; and even for this comparatively humble effort they are but ill prepared. Our universities and colleges are, at present, known principally by the number and magnitude of their edifices. If the student wishes to push his inquiries beyond the ordinary routine of instruction, where shall he go, in our country, for the means of information? If he enter our college halls and ask for books, he is shown long rows of lodging-rooms. If he inquire for instruments for philosophical research, he is pointed to large piles of brick and mortar. If the teacher desire to investigate truth for himself, and coöperate with the learned men of Europe, where, in this country, can he go to avail himself of the researches of past ages?

" The humiliating answer is found in the fact that in each of the learned professions the most valuable books with which we enrich our libraries could not have been written here, because the knowledge which they embody could not have been found in America.

" And besides, instructors cannot furnish themselves with libraries; their incomes do not admit of it; nor can such a library as the cause of science demands, be collected in a single lifetime. It must be the accumulated wisdom of past ages added to our own. Such a library can be procured only by public munificence, and by that munificence so directed as to collect from time to time the rich results of the intellectual labor of man.

"It is, however, cheering to observe that other institutions of learning are aware of the importance of the subject, and are employing all the means in their power for the substantial advancement of science. Harvard University is appropriating five thousand dollars per annum to the increase of her library, already the most valuable of any possessed by any university in the United States. Yale College is raising a fund of one hundred thousand dollars for these and similar purposes. Is it not time that we followed such noble examples, and, as citizens of the Republic of Letters, contributed our portion towards the intellectual advancement of our country?"

Allusion having been made by a subsequent speaker to the importance of making the college library accessible to all, Dr. Wayland further said, —

"That he had heard with great pleasure the allusion of Judge P. to the importance of having the library, under proper restrictions, perfectly accessible both to professional men and to all persons who wish to consult it upon scientific subjects. Science was in its very nature diffusive. A library should be a source of intellectual illumination, not to one class of men only, but to all men who were disposed to profit by it. The only laws regulating its use should be designed to prevent its abuse and extend its utility. Such had always been his sentiments, and such, so far as his power had permitted, had been his practice. He pledged himself to coöperate cheerfully with his friend Judge P. in such arrangements as would render the present effort the most efficient means possible for promoting the scientific and professional advancement of the city." *

The amount obtained in response to this application, and to the untiring efforts of President Wayland, Dr. Caswell, and other ardent friends of the college, was nearly twenty thousand dollars. This sum was put at in-

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* Providence Daily Journal, June 16th, 1832.

terest until it had increased to twenty-five thousand dollars; constituting what has since been known as the "Library Fund." The interest of this fund (which we believe has never been increased) has been devoted to the purchase of books and to the improvement of the chemical and philosophical apparatus.

Dr. Wayland believed that it was the business of a college to furnish the best, and not the cheapest, education. While, therefore, he never hesitated to appeal most earnestly to the community in which he lived, and to all persons on whom the college might be supposed to have a claim, for funds to be expended in such a manner as to increase the facilities for acquiring knowledge, he never encouraged the foundation of scholarships, nor any of the numerous devices for bribing young men to accept a collegiate education.

In a letter to a friend, written during the second year of his presidency, he says, —

"You may have seen that I have been attacked in the newspapers. Some very untrue statements have been made in these attacks. To all this I answer, I acknowledge not the jurisdiction.* A few matters of fact have been so stated, that I may, perhaps, in due time, enter a denial; but of this I am not certain. We shall have as many students as I care for at present, and meanwhile the college is gaining ground abroad. If we get the students, and teach them well, we can afford a little abuse of this sort. I have caused notice to be published that provision has been made for defraying the tuition of thirty-five beneficiaries in this institution. It is a mode of operation generally, or rather universally, resorted to nowadays. I am strongly opposed to the policy, but I yield to the present emergency, and I hope only for the present. A college education ought to be good enough to be worth having, and not such that you are glad to give it away." *

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* In illustration of his indifference to the attacks which from time to time were made upon Dr. Wayland by the press, we give an extract from a letter written to a friend, in allusion to an unfounded and even calumnious charge against him, which had some currency in the newspapers of that day: "I had repeatedly seen the article which you sent me, but I really did not think it worth an answer. I assumed that those who knew anything of me would not believe it, and that it would sooner die away by being let alone."

Fortunately for the welfare of the college, the zeal of Dr. Wayland quickened the liberality of one of its most generous friends. In 1834 the Hon. Nicholas Brown, of Providence, to whose enlightened benevolence and intelligent interest in education Brown University owes so much of its success, caused an appropriate and tasteful building to be erected at his own expense, designed to be used as a library and chapel. To this edifice the name of Manning Hall was given, in honor of the first president of the university.

The dedication discourse was delivered by President Wayland, February 4, 1835. Ever controlled by a profound conviction that all mental training which does not fully recognize our moral obligations, and does not inspire the soul with sentiments of devout gratitude to the Author and Source of knowledge, is fatally defective as a preparation for the duties of active life, and for the future destiny of an immortal being, — that the most costly appliances of education, and the most untiring industry expended in scientific research, must fall far short of producing their noblest results, unless sanctified by a humble reliance upon omniscient wisdom, — Dr. Wayland selected as the theme of his discourse, the "Dependence of Science upon Revealed Religion."

We quote the concluding paragraphs of the address.

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* In the opinion of Dr. Wayland, if a man has such intellectual and moral qualities as promise to render his high culture a blessing to himself and to the community, it is a duty to see that he has the means of procuring education. What he objected to, if we rightly apprehend his meaning, was making poverty the sole qualification for aid, without regard to mental and moral endowments.

"If I have succeeded, even though imperfectly, in the illustration which I have attempted, I have shown that revealed religion, so far as the individual is concerned, is the warmest friend to the cultivation of science, the most strenuous advocate for the universal promulgation of truth; and that, in so far as society is concerned, it has given existence to that state of civilization in which alone science can exist; and that only by its aid can society be so carried forward as to allow of indefinite scientific progress.

"The result from all this, so far as it respects the present occasion, may be stated in very few words.

"If such be the fact, a large portion of the duty of every instructor of youth must be the inculcation of religious principles upon the minds of those committed to his charge. He would be wanting in the discharge of his obligations to science, not less than in the discharge of his obligations to God, if, while he stimulated, by increasing knowledge, the impulsive powers of man, he did not also strengthen the restraining principles by which alone that knowledge can be made a blessing, either to its possessor or to mankind. Specially imperative is this obligation at the present time, when in our own country, as well as in others, the social fabric is already tottering under the assaults of passion, I fear, too strong for the barriers that surround it.

"And, again, if all this be so, how appropriate is it that we daily commend to the protection and blessing of Almighty God the youth committed to our charge, the welfare of this university whose servants we are, and the interests of science throughout the earth! And especially is it seemly, that, while in devout gratitude we acknowledge every additional means of usefulness which we receive from his hand, we should, first of all, consecrate whatever he has given us to the glory of Him who is the sole and underived author of good to everything that exists. This is the purpose for which we are assembled. Let us, then, unite in prayer while we dedicate this edifice to the service and glory of Almighty God."

The educational labors of Dr. Wayland were by no means confined to Brown University, or to the cause of collegiate instruction. Every department of teaching awakened his deep and earnest interest. Nor was this interest theoretical only, confined to general statements, but leading to no practical results. With him to feel was to act. Consequently the common school, the high school, and the academy, all found in him a sympathizing friend, a wise counsellor, and a most efficient helper. He had held his presidential office but about a year, when he was appointed chairman of a committee of citizens, "to whom was referred the consideration of the present school system of the town of Providence." This committee were "directed to recommend such alterations and improvements as they might deem necessary." In April, 1828, the committee made a report prepared by Dr. Wayland, which is printed in the American Journal of Education for July, 1828. In the remarks introducing the report to the readers of the Journal, the editor says, —

> "We have already had occasion to mention it as one of the most valuable expositions hitherto made of a system of public schools adapted to the actual circumstances of society. The report has been drawn up after a careful inspection of the school system of Boston, both in respect to the gradation of the schools, and the methods of instruction adopted in them. It forms, accordingly, a useful document for reference, whether for information relating to plans of arrangement for public education, or for direct assistance in teaching. School committees and teachers will derive equal benefit from a perusal of it.
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> "We would recommend to the particular attention of our readers the just and practical observations on the true policy of communities in relation to common education, and, especially, the remarks on elementary and high schools. The comparative view of methods of instruction is also worthy of peculiar notice, as presenting the results of close observation and judicious reflection on topics about which there still exists a diversity of opinion among teachers. In the leading name of the committee (whose signatures are appended to the report), our readers will recognize that of an ardent and distinguished friend to popular improvement, whom they will, with increased pleasure, observe devoting himself, with his accustomed energy, to one of the most useful labors of an enlightened benevolence."

In this report the attention of the municipal authorities was earnestly directed to the principles which should control a system of public schools, the expenses of which were to be defrayed by a general taxation of the property of the community. The report also considered the character and quality of schools demanded by the nature of our republican form of government; the defects of previous and existing systems of public education, with reference to the gradation of schools; the measures proper to be adopted with a view to the removal of these defects; the mode of instruction suitable to such schools; the beneficial results to be anticipated from a system of rewards; the kind of text-books required for the wise instruction of the young; and the importance of maintaining a careful and constant supervision of the schools by a competent board of visitors.

The report was accepted, and its recommendations were favorably received and promptly put in practice. While we cheerfully accord to the gentlemen, who united with Dr. Wayland in this effort to improve the system of public schools in Providence, the praise to which they are most justly entitled, it may yet be said, without disparagement to any of them, that the controlling influence of the chairman of the committee in devising a plan for the permanent elevation of the system of schools to a higher standard, and in stimulating the public to adopt and sustain it, was gratefully acknowledged by the entire community.

In 1827 he laid before the General Assembly of Rhode Island a plan for organizing a system of free schools throughout the state. Other gentlemen gave most efficient aid in the same direction, and at the January session of 1828 the proposed design received the needed legislative sanction. Dr. Wayland's interest in this cause continued to the close of his life.

"In the diversified plans and agencies by which the commissioner of public schools (Hon. Henry Barnard) labored, from 1843 to 1849, to interest parents, teachers, and school officers in the great work of organizing an efficient system of public instruction for Rhode Island, Dr. Wayland gave his active counsel and coöperation. He was as ready to assist in a meeting of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction at Kingston, or at the dedication of a school-house at Chepachet, as to address the American Institute at Boston, or to take part in the celebration of the founding of a college or a theological seminary." *

The generous interest which Dr. Wayland felt in the cause of education was not confined to the limits of his adopted state. Education, in its best and highest sense, he regarded as cosmopolitan. He aimed at nothing less than the mental and moral elevation of the whole human race. By his life-long devotion to the cause of home and foreign missions, he gave abundant evidence of his love for the souls of his fellow-men; and by his untiring efforts to promote the diffusion of general education, he manifested his anxiety for their intellectual development.

He was one of the founders of the "American Institute of Instruction" — an organization which has been exceedingly useful in promoting education, not only in this country, but throughout the world. He delivered the opening address at the first public meeting of the "Institute" — a discourse "which produced a deeper impression on the friends of education than any which had ever been pronounced on the same subject in America." He was chosen the first president of the association, and for some years not only presided at its annual meetings, but took an active part in all its deliberations.

At the annual meeting of the Institute, held in Boston, August 22, 1833, Dr. Wayland resigned the presidency of the organization for which he had, from the commencement, manifested such a deep and abiding interest. That his efforts in the cause of national education did not fail to

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* Barnard's American Journal of Education.

receive appropriate recognition from those with whom he had so efficiently labored, is evident from the recorded action of the Institute on the occasion of his resignation: —

> "*Resolved*, That the 'American Institute of Instruction' entertains the highest respect for the character of their late president, Dr. Wayland, and the deepest gratitude to him for his early, continued, and efficient efforts to promote the objects of this association. And while they regret that they are to be deprived of his services as a presiding officer, they confidently rely upon his future coöperation in prosecuting the great objects of the society which he has contributed so essentially to place before them."

In further illustration of the desire of Dr. Wayland that the benefits of education should be universally enjoyed, and should be adapted to the growing wants of our country, we may refer to an address which he delivered on the 11th of July, 1838, at the opening of the "Providence Athenæum," the design of which was to furnish to the community the advantage of a large and well-selected library. In this address Dr. Wayland developed the object which the founders of this class of institutions should keep constantly in view, viz., "to provide the means for the universal diffusion of knowledge in its most extensive signification." Alluding to the design of the donors, he said, —

> "They have determined that this library shall be a repository for the standard English works, in every *science* with which an intelligent community would desire to become acquainted. They believe that such an institution should contain the intellectual aliment by which the genius of a Davy, an Arkwright, a Franklin, a Rittenhouse, or a Bowditch, might be nourished. God has scattered the seeds of preëminent ability as profusely among the poor as among the rich. When such gifts perish through the want of cultivation, the loss is suffered by mankind. It becomes us, then, as philanthropists and as citizens, to provide for the whole community the means of cultivating, in the most perfect manner, all of the talent with which the Creator has enriched it.

"Having thus provided the means for attaining a knowledge of the *laws* of the universe, their next endeavor will be to collect the *facts* which its history has unfolded. It is their design here to provide the student with the means of investigating the *history* of man, as he is seen in every stage of his transition from barbarism to civilization, under all the diversified influences of climate and situation, of political and religious institutions, of poverty and wealth, of prosperity and decline. But *history* would be imperfectly understood without a knowledge of *biography*. Hence it is their intention to furnish the reader with a collection of the lives of those who, in any age, have distinguished themselves either by profoundness of knowledge, brilliancy of achievement, or splendor of discovery. They mean that we should here have the opportunity of holding communion with the warriors and statesmen, the philosophers and scholars, the poets and orators, the civilians and divines, who have made their names illustrious by the changes which they have wrought in the current of human thought, or feeling, or action. We may thus be enabled to trace the most stupendous effects to their elementary causes, and to behold what responsibility God has conferred upon genius, and to observe how signally it is in the power of individual man to bequeath happiness or misery to the entire race of which he forms a part.

"But the facts which respect man alone form but a small part of that knowledge which it becomes us to acquire. Our globe itself has been subjected to accurate observation, and the changes through which it has passed during the long period of its existence have been traced with scarcely less than philosophical accuracy. The *vegetable* productions which cover it have been examined and classified, their characters described, their uses ascertained, and their modes of cultivation carefully illustrated. The *animal* kingdom in all its varieties, whether inhabiting the air, the water, or the land, has, from the time of Aristotle, attracted the attention of the naturalist, until now, at last, by the labors of Cuvier, its whole extent has been brought within the view of the philosopher. Of the utility or of the attractiveness of these studies it is superfluous here to speak. I surely need not tell you how greatly the knowledge which they unfold conduces to the development of national resources, nor how admirably calculated are the classifications to which they are subjected to discipline and invigorate the human understanding. Aware of this, it is the intention of the directors of the Athenæum to enrich their collection, as far as may be in their power, with works on natural science.

"But the laws of nature, and the facts which have transpired, and the beings which *actually* exist, are far from being all that is comprehended within the domain of human knowledge. The wonder-working power of the imagination has created forms of awful grandeur and of surpassing loveliness. By the contemplation of these, the love of the beautiful is cultivated, the taste is refined, and the social sympathies are purified and ennobled. Hence it is the intention of the directors of this institution to render it rich in everything, whether in prose or verse, whether in didactic literature or the literature of fiction, with which genius has ennobled our mother tongue.

"Admittance to its privileges is designedly rendered so easy, that, for all practical purposes, it may, in effect, be declared free. It is, moreover, the design of the proprietors that it should be useful *to all.* While they look at the treasures of human thought *in general*, they do not forget that they are collecting books for men *in particular.* Hence they wisely adjust the general principles of their selection to the case of the community in whose behalf they act. They intend that there shall be no occupation, whether professional or industrial, which shall not here find the means both of instruction and relaxation. They mean to open a fountain of living water, at which the intellectual thirst of the whole community may be slaked.

"We have arrived at a crisis in the progress of civilization such as, I believe, has rarely, if ever, been witnessed. Those nations of modern times, which have felt the impulse of the Reformation, have directed all their efforts to the simple object of widely disseminating the elements of education. Their highest aim has been to see that 'the schoolmaster be abroad,' and thus to enable every citizen to read in his mother tongue. But in New England all this has long since been accomplished. The schoolmaster here has always been *at home.* There is scarcely a native-born man, or woman, or child among us who is not able to read, and write, and keep accounts. The book of the English language, with whatever it contains of life or death, and whatever of these it may hereafter contain, is spread open before the whole community.

"If we desire to reap the benefit of all our previous exertions, it must be done by carrying out the plan which the proprietors of the Athenæum have adopted. We must render knowledge — valuable knowledge — accessible to the whole community. We must collect the treasures of science and literature, and throw them open to all who are disposed to avail themselves of their benefits. We must provide the means by which the light of intellect shall shine into every house, and pour its reviving beams into the bosom of every family. And, still more, we must act for the future. In our present state, no great object can be accomplished, unless we act for posterity. We must, therefore, lay the foundations of this institution in such principles that it will grow with the growth of intelligence, widening and deepening the channels of its influence, as it passes on from age to age, more and more thoroughly imbuing every successive race with admiration of all that is great, with love for all that is beautiful, and with reverence for all that is holy."

In July, 1838, the avails of the Smithsonian bequest having been received by the United States, and Congress having pledged their faith for the performance of the trust involved in the acceptance of the legacy, letters were addressed by the Secretary of State to several gentlemen prominent in the cause of education, asking their views "as to the mode of applying the proceeds of the bequest which shall be likely at once to meet the wishes of the testator, and prove advantageous to mankind."

Dr. Wayland replied as follows, October 2, 1838: —

"Sir: In reply to your communication dated July last, requesting my views respecting the Smithsonian Institution I beg leave to state as follows: —

"1. It is, I suppose, to be taken for granted that this institution is not intended for the benefit of any particular *section* of the United States, but of the whole country;

and also that no expense which may be necessary in order to accomplish its object will be spared.

"2. I think it also evident that there is no lack in this country of what may be properly termed *collegiate* education; that is, of that education which may be given between the ages of fourteen or sixteen, and eighteen or twenty. All the old states, and many of the new ones, have as many institutions of this kind as their circumstances require. And, besides, since persons of the ages specified are too young to be for a long period absent from home, it is probably better that a large number of such institutions should be established within convenient distances of each other. The age of the pupils in these institutions would also render it desirable that very large numbers be not associated together.

"3. It is probable that professional schools — that is, schools for divinity, law, and medicine — will be established in every section of our country. Divinity must be left to the different Christian sects. Law will probably be taught in the state, or at least the district, in which it is to be practised. The same will, I think, be true of medicine.

"4. If the above views be correct, it will, I think, follow, that the proper place to be occupied by such an institution would be the space between the close of a collegiate education and a professional school. Its object would be to carry forward a classical and philosophical education beyond the point at which a college now leaves it, and to give instruction in the broad and philosophical principles of a professional education.

"The demand for such instruction now exists very extensively. A considerable portion of our best scholars graduate as early as their nineteenth, twentieth, or twenty-first year. If they are sufficiently wealthy, they prefer to wait a year before studying their profession. Some travel, some read, some remain as resident graduates, and many more teach school for a year or two, for the purpose of reviewing their studies. These would gladly resort to an institution in which their time might be profitably employed. The rapidly increasing wealth of our country will very greatly increase the number of such students.

"The advantages which would result from such an institution are various. It would raise up and send abroad in the several professions a new grade of scholars, and thus greatly add to the intellectual power of the nation. But, especially, it would furnish teachers, professors, and officers of every grade, for all our other institutions. As the standard of education was thus raised in the colleges, students would enter the National University, better prepared. This would require greater effort on the part of its professors, and thus both would reciprocally stimulate each other.

"The branches which should be taught there, I suppose, should be the same as in our colleges (only far more generously taught, — that is, taught to men, and not to boys), and the philosophical principles of law and medicine. This would embrace lectures on Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the Oriental languages; all the modern languages of any use to the scholar, with their literature; mathematics, carried as far as any one would desire to pursue them; astronomy; engineering, civil and military; the art of war, beginning where it is left at West Point; chemistry; geology; mining; rhetoric and poetry; political economy; intellectual philosophy; physiology, vegetable and animal; anatomy, human and comparative; history; the laws of nations; and the general principles of law, the constitution of the United States, &c.

"5. Supposing such an institution to be established, something may be added respecting the mode of its constitution and organization.

"I suppose, then, that an institution of this kind is a sort of copartnership between the instructors and the public. The public furnishes means of education, as building, libraries, apparatus, and a portion of the salary. The professors do the labor, and provide for the remaining part of their income by their own exertions. Hence there arises naturally a division of the powers and duties of the parties. To the corporation, or governors, or trustees, or by what name they may be called, would belong the management of the fiscal concerns of the institution, and the control of that portion of its affairs which depended specially upon its relation with the public donation. The government of the institution, the conferring of degrees, and the appointment of professors, would be performed jointly by the officers of instruction and the corporation.

In the English universities, the government of the institution is vested in a general meeting of the former graduates. This forms a literary public, which exercises ultimate jurisdiction in most matters requiring deliberation. How far such an institution might be constructed upon this principle, may be fairly a question.

"6. If the above-mentioned views should be adopted, it will be perceived that no funds will be required for dormitories. The young men will provide for themselves board and lodgings wherever they please, and the professors will be responsible for nothing more than their education. It is to be supposed that they are old enough to govern themselves.

"Hence the funds may be devoted to the following purposes: —

"1st. A part would be appropriated to the creation of a library, cabinets, and for the furnishing of all the apparatus necessary to the instructors.

"2d. A part to the erection of buildings for the above purposes, together with buildings for professors' houses.

"3d. A fund would be established for the endowment of professorships, giving to each so much as may form a portion (say one third, or one half) of his living, and the rest to be provided for by the sale of the tickets to his courses.

"7. If the institution is governed by a board, this board should be appointed by the president and senate, or by the president alone; and they should hold their offices for a period not longer than six years, one third of them retiring, unless reappointed, every two years.

"8. Graduates of the university should be allowed to teach classes and receive payment for tickets, upon any of the subjects on which instruction is given in the regular course. This will prove a strong stimulant to the regular professors, and will train men up for teachers.

"Degrees should never be conferred as a matter of course, but after a strict and public examination. They should never be conferred either in course, or *causa honoris*, unless by the recommendation of the Faculty.

"I have thus very briefly, but as far as my avocations would allow, thrown together a few hints upon the subject to which you have directed my attention. That I should go into detail, I presume, was not expected.

Whatever may be the plan adopted, I presume it will not be carried into effect, until an extensive observation of the best universities in Europe has furnished the government with all the knowledge which the present condition of science and education can afford.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Respectfully, your obedient servant,
F. Wayland.

"Hon. J. Forsyth, *Secretary of State.*"

CHAPTER XV.

PUBLIC LABORS. — TRACT AND SCHOOL SOCIETY, RHODE ISLAND. — CHILDREN'S FRIEND SOCIETY. — RHODE ISLAND BIBLE SOCIETY. — AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. — PROVIDENCE DISPENSARY. — FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH. — REV. DR. PATTISON. — MISSIONARY CONCERTS. — LADIES' BIBLE CLASS. — MURRAY STREET DISCOURSE. — ADDRESS BEFORE THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION. — DUDLEIAN LECTURE. — THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANALOGY. — DISCOURSE ON TEMPERANCE. — ORDINATION SERMONS. — DESIGNATION OF MISSIONARIES. — PHI BETA KAPPA ADDRESS AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY. — MORAL LAW OF ACCUMULATION. — AGRICULTURAL ADDRESS.

WHILE Dr. Wayland was thus indefatigable in his efforts to advance the general interests of education, he neglected none of the duties of a good citizen. From the commencement of his residence in Providence, he identified himself with every enterprise which sought to promote the prosperity and sound morals of the community. Especially did he aim, from the outset, to inculcate, by precept and example, a spirit of enlightened benevolence. It was remarked of him, even then, that in proportion to his means, he was the most liberal man in town. Up to the time of his arrival in Providence, the amounts contributed to public charities had been small. They were mainly in the form of annual payments, of from one to three dollars. It is stated that one gentleman of ample means, who was prominent in religious affairs, considered it a matter of self-gratulation that, once a year, he was in the habit of giving half a dollar to the cause of foreign missions. When, on one occasion, a wealthy citizen of Providence made a donation of twenty dollars to a deserving charity, it was proposed at the next annual meeting of the society, whose funds had been thus unexpectedly increased, to present a vote of thanks to the donor, in grateful recognition of such unusual benevolence.

Dr. Wayland was soon convinced that the painful contrast between the sums contributed and the pecuniary resources of the contributors was due, not to the indifference or stinginess of the people of Providence, but to the fact that their minds had never been suitably awakened to the paramount duty and blessed results of systematic charity. He availed himself of every opportunity, in public and private, to disseminate throughout the community correct views upon this subject. His voice, and purse, and pen were ever at the service of any meritorious public enterprise. By judicious and well-timed personal appeals, by liberal donations from his scanty income, and by public addresses, he succeeded in stimulating into increased activity the charitable and benevolent institutions of Providence.

In 1828 he preached a sermon in behalf of the Tract and School Society — an organization designed to establish schools for the poor in all parts of the state. The collection taken up at the close of this discourse amounted to two hundred dollars, which is believed to have been the largest contribution ever made, up to that time, in the town of Providence for a similar object.

Of the part which he took in the formation of the Children's Friend Society, which for more than thirty years has provided a home for destitute children, a Providence lady, ever forward in all good works, has kindly given the following account: —

"It was at the close of one of our Bible-class meetings, that Dr. Wayland requested Miss —— and myself to wait until the class had retired, for the purpose of hearing from Miss Harriet Ware a statement of her efforts to aid the children of the vicious poor of the town, and of her plans and wishes for their future benefit. Dr. Wayland was exceedingly interested in her narrative, and in the quaint way in which she described her labors and the obstacles which she encountered. Having heard her touching story, he requested Miss —— and myself to make an effort to collect money enough to enable Miss Ware to carry on her praiseworthy enterprise. He drew up the heading to a subscription paper, was himself the first to contribute, and the result was, that we raised the three hundred dollars with which that excellent charity, now established on so firm a foundation, commenced its beneficent career."

For several years, and until the permanent success of this organization was fully assured, Dr. Wayland attended its meetings, shared in its counsels, and actively aided in all measures adopted to increase its resources and add to its efficiency.

On the death of Miss Harriet Ware he was selected as her biographer, and in a short and deeply interesting memoir, paid a merited tribute to the Christian virtues and rare ability of this remarkable woman.

In 1828 he became a member of the board of trustees of the Rhode Island Bible Society. This position he retained until 1843, discharging all its duties with fidelity and zeal. In fact, any scheme designed to secure the distribution of the Scriptures could not but enlist his warmest sympathy.

The Rhode Island Bible Society is auxiliary to the American Bible Society. With this venerable and catholic organization Dr. Wayland coöperated throughout his life. He was of opinion that all Protestant Christians may, without any sacrifice of their distinctive principles, unite in circulating the English version of the Scriptures, as well as those versions which are commonly received among Christians in Protestant Europe. Where it is found needful to make new translations into the languages of heathen nations, and when the different sects could not agree upon a common rendering, he was of opinion that the existing missionary organizations afforded all needed facilities for the work to be accomplished. Their missionary laborers were the persons best fitted for executing the translations, and the circulation of the Scriptures, thus rendered into the vernacular, was a part of the legitimate missionary work of the several societies. This course seemed to him in accordance with a wise economy, and well calculated to promote in the largest attainable degree "the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace" among all the followers of the Redeemer.

Perhaps no local charity interested him more deeply than the Providence Dispensary, formed in 1829, for the purpose of furnishing medicine and medical attendance gratuitously to the poor of Providence. While the benevolent aims of such an organization appeal most strongly to the heart of every friend of suffering humanity, with what peculiar power must they come home to the faithful disciple of that Savior whose richest rewards are promised those to whom He can say, "I was sick and ye visited me"! Dr. Wayland was from the first a contributor to the funds of the society, was for many years a member of its board of managers, and presided, July 5, 1865, at the last quarterly meeting held before his death.*

An extract from the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Dispensary will be read with interest: —

"*Resolved*, That, in common with our fellow-citizens, we shall hold in grateful remembrance and respect the name of one who has so long been prominent in promoting the interests of benevolence, learning, and religion in this community, not only by his varied official labors, but by the pervading influence of his personal character."

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* The following statistics, from the annual report for 1865, furnish gratifying evidence of the amount of good accomplished by the Dispensary. During this year the number of patients relieved was 1248; number of house visits made, 2881; number of office consultations, 1596.

Dr. Wayland's labors for the good of the community in which he lived, suffered no abatement with his advancing years. To quote from the funeral address of Dr. Caswell, —

" In every assembly of citizens, whether for deliberation upon grave public affairs, or for the founding and endowment of hospitals, or providing shelter for orphans, or homes for the aged and infirm, his presence was felt as no other man's was. All waited to hear the utterances of his voice. In every enterprise among us for the moral and religious improvement of the community, in every charity for the relief of the poor, in every effort to succor the fallen and reclaim the wanderer, his counsel was sought as an almost indispensable condition of success. It may justly be said that he stood among us as the first citizen of Rhode Island."

But Dr. Wayland never forgot that, while he was called upon to discharge to the utmost of his ability his obligations as a citizen, he had a higher and more imperative duty to perform as a follower of Christ. Although he believed that he had obeyed the manifest indications of divine Providence in abandoning the pastoral office for the position of an instructor, he did not cease to feel a deep and ever-increasing interest in the work of the ministry. He never declined an invitation to preach, or to perform any kind of religious labor, unless prevented by his college duties or some indispensable engagement.

On the 3d of April, 1828, he became a member of the First Baptist Church in Providence. Dr. Stephen Gano, long the respected and beloved pastor of this church, died in August, 1828. Nearly two years elapsed before his successor was installed. During this period Dr. Wayland devoted to the spiritual interests of the church all the time which he could spare from his regular duties. He frequently preached on the Sabbath, took a prominent part in evening meetings, visited the sick, attended funerals, and conducted the communion services. After the lapse of nearly forty years, his addresses and his prayers, particularly at the sacramental table, are distinctly in the remembrance of many who were his hearers.

His active coöperation in advancing the interests of the church did not cease when the pulpit was no longer vacant. In 1830 Dr. Gano was succeeded by Rev. R. E. Pattison, whose eminent personal qualities and varied excellences as a minister of the gospel Dr. Wayland ever held in high esteem. In the discourse from which we have already quoted, Dr. Pattison says, in allusion to this period, and to a second settlement over the same congregation, —

> "Though less than five years my senior in age, yet *as a graduate*, having graduated so young, he was thirteen years my senior. During nearly eight years that I was his pastor, I never ceased to feel that he was the teacher and I the pupil. As a preacher of the gospel, and as the pastor of my flock, of which he was a member, I felt that I must acknowledge but one Master. Yet in our almost daily intercourse I ceased not to draw from his well. It was rarely book knowledge. Sometimes the topic was my own sermon, to which he was to listen on the next Sabbath, or which he had heard on the preceding; but more frequently it was some one of those subjects of investigation about to be incorporated into his imperishable works. . . . With such relations to Dr. Wayland, I can fully appreciate his reverence for Dr. Nott." *

During the pastorate of Dr. Pattison, an extensive and powerful revival of religion occured. We think that we speak the sentiments of those members of the church who remember those days of the right hand of the Most High, when we say that the counsels and labors of Dr. Wayland at this time were of incalculable value.

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* We trust it may not be improper to add that the sentiments, expressed in the above extract, towards Dr. Wayland, his sons have never ceased to cherish for Dr. Pattison; and one of them, as the pastor of Dr. Pattison, has felt that the debt of counsel and kindness, which was due to the subject of this memoir, has been abundantly repaid to the second generation.

We cannot forbear quoting, in this connection, a further passage from Dr. Pattison's discourse, strikingly illustrative of the character of Dr. Wayland: —

"The ease with which a personal difficulty could be settled with him, arose not merely from his quick perception of the reason of the thing, and freedom from prejudice, but chiefly from his habitual religious feelings. . . . In the early part of my ministry, my congregation being, as I thought, peculiarly insensible to the claims of religion, I resolved on producing a sensation; that I would preach, for several weeks in succession, exclusively on the claims of the divine law, and the certainty and solemnity of its retributions. This series was to be followed by another, exclusively on the way of life. Before the completion of the first division, I perceived a sensation; but whether favorable or unfavorable I was not assured. With much hesitation, however, I persevered. The doctor, ignorant, with the rest of my congregation, of my motive, on our way to our homes at the close of a Sabbath morning service, betrayed dissatisfaction with my continued selection of such subjects. I commenced a reply with the expression that it was an experiment. He interrupted me, saying, with a severity of which he was capable, 'I do not wish to be experimented on.' Exactly what reply I made, I cannot say; but it was one prompted by self-distrust, and by feelings wounded by his severity. He added nothing further. But in a few minutes after reaching my home, a messenger handed me the following note: —

"Dear Pastor:* I regret sincerely my manner and spirit in our recent conversation. I hope, as a sinner, to be cleansed in the blood of Christ. Forgive me. Love me, pastor, though I am unlovely. I hope Christ does.

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* It was illustrative of the relations subsisting between them, that up to the close of his life, Dr. Wayland never ceased to address Dr. Pattison by the designation "pastor."

Your affectionate brother,

F. W."

During the vacancy which followed the resignation of Dr. Pattison, and at various periods of peculiar need in the history of the church, the post of responsibility and labor was either tacitly or by formal vote assigned to Dr. Wayland. It was he who supplied the place of a pastor when the office was vacant, and it was on his counsels that reliance was mainly placed when the pastoral office was to be filled. In the language of an honored member and office-bearer in the body, " the doctor took the church on his shoulders, and carried it right over every difficult place."

In none of the exercises of the church was his presence more sensibly felt than in the missionary concert, held on the first Sabbath evening of each month. The concert in the college chapel was held at an early hour in the evening, and was a scene of deep interest. It cannot be doubted that, of the graduates of Brown University who have labored for the salvation of the heathen, very many found their zeal quickened, or, perhaps, first awakened, by the influence of this service. It was a delightful and characteristic feature of these meetings that members of all denominations took part; that intelligence was communicated from the Missionary Herald and from the Spirit of Missions, as well as from the Magazine; and that the collections (with the entire approbation, and, perhaps, at the suggestion, of the president) were sometimes bestowed upon agencies outside the denomination to which most of the contributors belonged.

From the college concert the president went to the vestry of the church. The tidings found in the leading missionary journals were communicated by intelligent laymen, who regularly held themselves responsible for the discharge of this duty. After the missionary intelligence had been spread before the audience, Dr. Wayland's voice was usually heard. Perhaps he would communicate some striking fact or anecdote which he had learned from the brethren at the missionary rooms, or at the mission house in Pemberton Square. Perhaps he would carry out the reflections suggested by some feature of the intelligence found in the magazines. Perhaps he would trace the course of God's providence through the centuries in vindicating righteousness and punishing oppression. At one time, when the continent of Europe was the scene of tumult and bloodshed, he reviewed the course of these nations, in a former day, in rejecting the light and persecuting the saints. "And now," he said, "God is giving them blood to drink in great measure." His language and manner were exceedingly simple; but all who remember these meetings will probably coincide in the remark, which was not unfrequently made, that "nowhere else was Dr. Wayland so truly eloquent as in the missionary concert." And even more impressive were his prayers, as he spread before Jehovah the condition of the world, and pleaded all the divine promises and perfections; as he invoked the interposition of God in behalf of his oppressed people, in behalf of his servants and ministers who were exposed to persecution and violence from wicked men and rulers: "Rebuke kings for their sakes. Say to them, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

These meetings (which many persons now recall as having been the most interesting and delightful that they ever attended) exerted an incalculable influence in arousing a spirit of liberality and of enlightened missionary zeal. It will be remembered that in 1823 (or 1824) it was estimated that, under favorable circumstances, not less than fifty dollars might be expected from the churches in Providence. At the close of these monthly concerts it was not uncommon for the collection, in a single evening, to reach twice that amount; and (if we are not in error) the church at one time held the first place among the Baptist churches in America in the amount of its missionary contributions.

The religious labors of Dr. Wayland were very far from being sectarian in their character. He earnestly sought to promote the spiritual welfare of all whom he could bring within the sphere of Christian influence. In 1833 he commenced a ladies' Bible class, inviting the attendance of members of every denomination. The following, from his journal of that time, exhibits the feelings with which he entered on this undertaking: —

> "*April* 7, 1833, Sabbath. I have, during the past week, made arrangements for commencing a Bible class in town. So far as I know, I have intended to obey the intimations of the Spirit of God. I have always observed that I deeply regret having neglected such intimations, and thinking that this might be one, I dared not let it pass unimproved. I do not know that I desire anything else than to promote the cause of Christ and the interests of holiness. To the Spirit of all wisdom and holiness do I commend this effort. May it be the means of promoting the knowledge and the love of God; may it be blessed to every one who attends. Wilt thou direct, O God, the best and proper way in which to conduct it! Wilt thou call in the most suitable persons! Wilt thou enable me to direct it in such manner as may please thee! On thee I rely. In thy strength would I carry it on. Grant me health, strength, piety, illumination, and enable me to drink deeply into the spirit of religion, that I may thus teach others. Hear me, O God, for Christ's sake! Amen."

Of this Bible class (which met every Saturday afternoon, and was continued for several years) Mrs. Professor Chace has furnished the following reminiscences: —

> "The circumstances which led to the formation of Dr. Wayland's Bible class for ladies were these: Mrs. Wayland was one day calling at our house, and, with the earnest interest which she always took in the religious welfare

of the young, invited my sister and myself to attend, with the ladies of her own family, the young men's Bible class in college. How well I remember the gloomy hall, the low, ill-lighted chapel, with Dr. Wayland's noble figure looming up grandly against the dark background! What a new thing to me was that wonderful power with which he took the confused, half-uttered thoughts of the students, and by short, clear explanation, or by some illustration, sometimes quaint, always striking, poured a flood of light upon the hidden truth which they were groping after, bringing it out with such distinctness that every one beheld it with the delight of a new discovery! This was my first knowledge of Dr. Wayland as an instructor, and it was the commencement of my own education, in the true sense of the word.

"When it was known that the attendance of ladies was permitted, the number became so large as to embarrass the young men, and prevent that freedom of discussion which is the life of any Bible class. The ladies were then banished from college, and gathered into a class of their own. Its first meeting was on the 13th of April, 1833. I was at that time in a sick-room, but am told that the number present was about thirty. I judge that later there could not have been less than sixty members, with an average attendance of about forty. They were from all the different churches in the city, of all ages, and of all degrees of intelligence and culture, from the old dame, who, in her fear of mere human teaching, asked, 'If the Lord wanted a man larned, wouldn't he give him larning?' — to the most carefully reared and instructed.

"Dr. Wayland was equally attentive to all. He was never wearied by questions, whether wisely or unwisely put, but always patient in his explanations and in his replies to the good but ignorant woman, whose opinions, very complacently held and very freely expressed, were sometimes too much for the gravity of the listeners. He 'checked with a glance the circle's smile,' and gave us a valuable lesson in Christian courtesy.

"The first book was the Gospel of Matthew. I was only occasionally present during the examination of this portion of the New Testament, and my recollections are chiefly confined to the study of the Epistles of Romans and Hebrews. His habit was to give us a carefully-prepared analysis of the epistle. I have that of Romans now, and am using it in the instruction of my own scholars.

" The exercises of the class were always commenced with prayer; and few who were present will ever forget those prayers. There were times when the veil which conceals the spiritual world seemed, for him, to be lifted, and his soul to stand in the open vision of the infinite glory. By the strength of his faith he bore us with him; and when it was over, it was like coming back to earth after a glimpse of heaven. The prayer ended, he required of some one — choosing quite at random — the analysis of the chapter as given in the previous lesson, afterwards taking it up verse by verse. He never lectured, but conducted the recitation by question and answer, striving to lead the student to think for herself, rather than blindly to follow his explanations. He always encouraged the expression of opinions even when they were not in harmony with his own, and discussed them with fairness and a thoughtful regard for the feelings of others. He held us, however, closely to the subject, checking us decidedly, although not ungently, when we wandered too far. Among the most interested members of the class were a large number of young ladies who had just left school. I think they will all remember and acknowledge the great intellectual benefit which they derived from these instructions. He never allowed us to imagine that we understood a passage of which we could give no intelligible exposition. He taught us that half-knowledge is no knowledge. He inspired in us an enthusiastic love of truth, and a feeling of responsibility as to its attainment. He made us conscious that there may be an inner life richer and fuller than the outer one. He once said to me in later years, 'You know that to elevate the standard of character among women has been a constant aim with me all my life.'

" The striking features of his teaching in the Bible class — as everywhere — were its clearness, its simplicity, its directness, and its wealth of illustration. He never lost sight of the important distinction between what may be known, and what in its very nature is beyond human comprehension, and he always repressed speculation as to the latter. Young souls, earnest and thoughtful, but bewildered by the great mysteries of life, and losing themselves in a maze of doubts, he never sought to extricate by argument, but led them by the holier and gentler affections to the sure faith and quiet peace which the gospel only can give.

"Dr. Wayland's personal influence, which was not confined to the class-room, was controlling, helping to mould many a character at the age when it takes shape for life. The tone of society, among its younger members, was materially affected by the graver views of life which he inculcated; and it is a striking proof of his power, that while many young ladies, who received their religious training in his Bible class, were reigning belles, dancing, of which he disapproved, was rigorously excluded from their parties.

"It may be that I have reached that period in life in which one begins to glorify the past. But it seems to me that society in our city was never more charming than in those days when the highest subjects of human thought, and that eternity, which, near or far, awaits us all, were frequent themes of converse in ordinary social gatherings.

"The closing meeting of the Bible class was held October 29, 1836. Dr. Wayland found his engagements so numerous that he could no longer spare the time necessary for it. Nearly twenty years afterwards, in 1855, it was resumed, and continued three years."

Another member of this Bible class says, —

"When we assembled for the first time, Dr. Wayland told us, among other things, that he must insist upon punctuality of attendance. If we had not this habit now, we could not form it too soon. He added, that punctuality did not consist in arriving at the class-room several minutes before the hour, but only so early as to enable us to be in our seats precisely at the time appointed. Here, as everywhere, we should bear in mind the value of time, and avoid consuming needlessly the time of others as well as of ourselves. He had no occasion afterwards to allude to this subject. I have never known punctuality to be so uniformly observed as in Dr. Wayland's Bible class."

That the ladies who enjoyed the benefits of his teachings did not fail to appreciate his labors in their behalf is evident from the following note, dated "November 25, 1834," and found, after his death, preserved among his most valued papers: —

"The ladies of the Bible class return a vote of thanks to Dr. Wayland for the unceasing exertions which he has made for their spiritual improvement.

"A note can but inadequately express the heartfelt gratitude with which many have received from his lips the truths of the gospel; and the amount of good done can be known only to the Searcher of all hearts, who will abundantly reward his labors.

"To that Master, whom they believe he has thus faithfully served, they would commend him and all who are dear to him, beseeching him to add his prayers to their own, that, of those who have attended the Bible class, not one may be missing in that day when the Savior shall 'make up his jewels.'

"By request of the ladies of Dr. Wayland's Bible class."

During the years 1834 and 1835, Dr. Wayland conducted a somewhat similar exercise every Tuesday evening, at his house, to which ladies of all denominations and of every age were cordially welcomed. On these occasions, the attention of those present — numbering usually from thirty to forty — was not directed to any particular portion of the Scriptures, but free conversation was encouraged respecting all topics of religious inquiry. In order that no one should be prevented by diffidence or reserve from seeking information, Dr. Wayland suggested that any one who chose should put on the table unsigned papers, containing questions to which replies were desired, statements of doubts to be solved, or subjects to be discussed. Not unfrequently the consideration of these papers consumed the entire evening. The teacher and the taught derived mutual benefit from this exercise, and parted with minds greatly quickened by the unrestricted interchange of religious sentiments. It should be added that these meetings were always opened and closed with prayer.

But while thus actively engaged in the work of instruction, and exercising a careful and constant supervision over the internal management and the external interests of Brown University, framing new laws for its government, and collecting funds to promote in every right direction its increased efficiency, and while, as we have seen, ever mindful of his duties as a public-spirited citizen, and more solicitous for the souls of his fellow-men than for the success of any merely temporal enterprise, however deserving of encouragement, he yet found leisure for much additional labor.

In the spring of 1830, a series of sermons was preached in the Murray Street Church, of New York city, by eminent clergymen representing several denominations. These sermons were subsequently published in a volume, entitled Murray Street Discourses, and in this form received a wide circulation. Dr. Wayland was one of the clergymen selected to perform this service, and his discourse on "The Certain Triumphs of the Redeemer" takes rank among his happiest public efforts. It is an earnest, able, and manly defence of the truths of revealed religion, enforcing the authority and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and predicting, in language of surpassing power, the glorious results which will follow the final and blessed reign of the Redeemer on earth.

On the 25th of May, 1830, he addressed the American Sunday School Union, in Philadelphia. Assuming that, on such an occasion and before such an audience, "the importance of inculcating upon the young the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ may be taken for granted," he invites their attention "to an illustration of some of the encouragements which the present state of society offers to an effort for the universal diffusion of Christianity." After a brief allusion to the nature of the Reformation in the time of Luther, he considers "the physical and intellectual changes, very similar to those which characterized the Reformation, which are at this moment going forward in this country." He discovers in the increased value of labor, in the progress of science as applied to the useful arts, in the rapid improvement of the means for cultivating the human mind, and in the peculiar facilities for intellectual development furnished by the character of our political institutions, all the encouragement needed by the enlightened Christian to induce him hopefully to persevere in the work of religious reform.

We quote a single paragraph from the conclusion of this discourse, to illustrate his earnest interest in the cause of Sabbath Schools: —

> "Time will barely suffer me to allude, in the briefest manner, to that species of religious effort which has given occasion to this address. You cannot, however, have failed to observe, that, if ever the gospel is universally to prevail, it is by some such means as this, under God, that its triumph will be achieved. By furnishing employment for talent of every description, the Sabbath school multiplies, almost indefinitely, the amount of benevolent effort, and awakens throughout every class of society the dormant spirit of Christian philanthropy. It renders every teacher a student of the Bible, and thus, in the most interesting manner, brings divine truth into immediate contact with the understanding and the conscience. All this it does to the teacher. But, besides all this, the Sabbath school is imbuing what will, twenty years hence, be the active population of this country, with the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is teaching that class of the community into whose hands so soon the destinies of this country will fall, the principles of inviolable justice and eternal truth. But more than all, it is implanting in the bosoms of millions of immortal souls 'that knowledge which is able to make them wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus.' How transcendently glorious are the privileges before us! Who will not embark in this holy enterprise?"

He delivered a discourse on "The Moral Efficacy of the Doctrine of the Atonement," February 3, 1831, at the installation of Rev. William Hague, as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston. There is something peculiarly touching in the solemn, earnest, and affectionate tone of this sermon, addressed to his former flock.

In May, 1831, he gave the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard University, upon Natural Religion, taking as his text Romans ii. 14: "When the Gentiles, which have not the law," &c.

On the afternoon of Commencement day, September 7, 1831, occurred the first anniversary of the Rhode Island Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. President Wayland deliverd the oration, selecting as his theme "The Philosophy of Analogy." This discourse "is remarkable for a rare felicity of conception and treatment, for the fine vein of original thought which runs through it, for the grace and beauty of its illustrations, and for the classic finish of its style. It is pervaded throughout by a highly philosophic spirit, and contains passages of the loftiest eloquence." *

On the 20th of October, 1831, he addressed the Providence Temperance Society. The discourse was characterized by his usual force of reasoning, pungency of personal appeal, earnestness of expostulation, sympathy with suffering humanity, and elevation of moral sentiment. It produced a profound impression upon his audience, and, when published, gave a fresh and powerful impulse to the cause of temperance in Rhode Island, and throughout the whole country.† Its most striking passages were extensively quoted. The spirit and tone of the discourse

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* Commemorative Discourse of Professor Chace.

† The fact that a recent riot in the suburbs of Providence, fomented by a few drunken sailors, had resulted in the destruction of several buildings, and the loss of several lives, was made the subject of indignant comment, and served to illustrate the evils of intemperance in a manner calculated to arrest the attention and awaken the apprehensions of the community in which the incident occurred.

were universally commended, and the soundness of his conclusions was everywhere conceded by all right-minded men.

The people of Providence were peculiarly gratified to find Dr. Wayland manifesting so lively an interest in their welfare, and a new and strong bond of sympathy was created between him and his fellow-citizens.

September 27, 1832, he preached a discourse at Portland, at the ordination of Rev. John S. Maginnis, on "The Objections to the Doctrine of Christ crucified, considered." December 17, 1832, he performed a similar service at the ordination of Rev. W. R. Williams. The services took place in the Oliver Street Church, New York. We quote a single paragraph: —

> "This occasion is, in a degree unusual even to such services, interesting to myself. On this spot I first heard proclaimed the gospel of Jesus Christ. My parents are among the earliest members of this church. The first minister whom I remember was the immediate predecessor of the present pastor of this parent church, and the father of the candidate for the ministry in that which has just been constituted. Many years have elapsed since I waited upon the instructions of that venerable man. Since then I have seen many meek, many holy, many humble, many able, many peace-making ministers of the New Testament; but I have yet seen no one that has reminded me of JOHN WILLIAMS."

Among his other occasional public discourses at this period were a sermon on "The Abuse of the Imagination," and an address before the Howard Benevolent Society of Boston on "The Motives to Beneficence."

On the evening of Sunday, June 29, 1834, a large body of missionaries (Mr. and Mrs. Comstock, Mr. and Mrs. Dean, Mr. and Mrs. Vinton, Mr. and Mrs. Howard, and Miss Gardner) being about to embark for Burmah (in company with Mr. and Mrs. Wade, who were returning to their field of labor) were publicly designated to the work before them by appropriate services held in the Baldwin Place Church, in Boston, On this occasion Dr. Wayland gave an address, upon "The Moral Conditions of Success in the Propagation of the Gospel." The Magazine remarks, —

> "While listening to his lofty, bold, beautiful, and, we may add emphatically, *scriptural* delineation of the objects, qualifications, and duties of a Christian missionary, — a delineation that made every other object and character than that of the Christian dwindle into utter insignificance in the comparison, — we felt as did Peter on the mount of glorious vision: 'It is good to be here.' And the thought more than once occurred to us, How would the venerable BALDWIN have enjoyed the scene?"

The following extract from Dr. Wayland's address to the departing missionaries derives a peculiar and touching interest from the circumstances of the speaker, whose home had recently been desolated by bereavement: — *

> "You will pardon me if I say nothing to you respecting the pains of that separation which is immediately before you. Sympathy, under such circumstances, can do little else than aggravate our natural sorrow. And, yet more, we have all learned enough of the mutability of the things which are temporal, to be convinced that, in a world where death reigns, there exists no tie which could permanently bind you and your friends together, even if you remained at home. It seems, at first view, as though loneliness were connected solely with your residence in Burmah. But God could in a single hour render the dwelling-place of your fathers as solitary to each one of you as Ava or Tavoy. If Christ be with you, you will have, in every event, an unchanging source of consolation; if he be absent, the thronged city may, at any moment, be made, by a single act of his providence, a solitary wilderness."

On Thursday, September 1, 1836, Dr. Wayland delivered the Phi Beta Kappa address, at Harvard University, selecting as his theme, "The Practical Uses of the Principle of Faith." He considered it, first, in its relation to our intercourse with created beings; and, second, in reference to those circumstances which arise from our relations to the Deity; and, lastly, the practical influence of the principle of faith in our relations to the life to come. The discourse was able and impressive; if somewhat more grave in its subject and its tone than is usual upon the occasion of a literary anniversary, the force of thought and of language was well fitted to secure the attention of an intelligent audience.

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* Mrs. Wayland died April 3, 1834

The year 1837 is memorable in the annals of our country as a time of almost unparalleled financial embarrassment. A spirit of reckless speculation had been followed by universal bankruptcy. On the 14th of May of that year, Dr. Wayland delivered, in the First Baptist Church in Providence, two discourses on "The Moral Law of Accumulation." In the first discourse he enumerated and illustrated the moral causes which had produced this wide-spread disaster, and in the second suggested some of the lessons to be learned from the history of this crisis. He explained and enforced the scriptural doctrine as to the accumulation and expenditure of wealth, dwelling upon the manifold evils of making haste to be rich, the habit of unscrupulous dealing which it encourages, the wasteful and often licentious extravagance to which it tends, and, above all, the neglect of religious duties, which is its almost inevitable result.

Discourses so well adapted to the times could not fail to attract public attention. Their "lessons of wisdom and piety" were gratefully recognized in the request which was at once made that they might be published. The sermons passed through several editions, and were widely circulated.

Dr. Wayland not only labored to disseminate just views on education, and to elevate his fellow-men to a higher plane of intellectual culture, but, as an ardent lover of his country, he desired to see her physical resources developed to the utmost. He had, moreover, a natural taste for agriculture and horticulture, and derived peculiar pleasure from his own success in these pursuits. He discharged, therefore, a congenial duty, when, on the 6th of October, 1841, he delivered the annual address before the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry. On this occasion he inquired, "What are the capabilities of our present condition as farmers of Rhode Island, and in what manner can those capabilities be improved and extended?" He spoke of the importance of agriculture, of the opportunities which the cultivator of the ground may have for mental improvement, and of the climate, soil, and products of the state. He offered valuable suggestions as to the means of increasing, by intelligent labor and the application of the laws of chemistry, the natural advantages which Rhode Island farmers already enjoyed. In conclusion he said, —

> "I beg to assure you of the deep interest which I feel in all your pursuits, and to express the ardent wish that it were in my power in any manner to be of service to you. If I, or the gentlemen associated with me, can in any way promote your interests, it will give us at all times the greatest pleasure to do it. The commercial, the manufacturing, the agricultural, and the literary interests of this community are one and indivisible. May they all unite in rendering this little state the brighest star in the constellation of the Union."

CHAPTER XVI.

HABITS OF STUDY AND EXERCISE. — HOME LIFE. — DEATH OF MRS. WAYLAND. — HER RELIGIOUS CHARACTER. — LETTERS TO HIS PARENTS. — HIS DEVOTION TO HIS CHILDREN. — DEATH OF HIS MOTHER.

WE may well pause here to inquire how it was possible for any man, without the neglect of any known duty, to respond to so many and so varied demands upon his time. An answer to the inquiry involves some allusion to his daily habits at this period of his life.

That he was conscientiously industrious, and that his industry was systematic and methodical, might be taken for granted, in view of the amount of labor which he actually accomplished. But in addition to this, he had, in a rare degree, the power of concentrating his mind upon any subject which for the time engaged his attention. He often quoted with approbation, and he certainly illustrated in his own instance, the characteristic saying of Dr. Johnson: "A man may write at any time, if he will set himself doggedly about it." He never asked himself whether he was in the best mood for this or that kind of mental effort. He never humored the passing fancy of the moment. He had some duty assigned for every working hour of every day, and he compelled himself to undertake the allotted task with unflinching determination. He patiently prepared his mind for the labor of composition by the slow process of close and logical thought, carefully writing out an analysis of the discourse, or lecture, or treatise on which he was engaged. This accomplished, he was ready for what remained. To clothe with flesh and blood the skeleton so perfect in all its parts and to inspire the whole with the vital energy of his own earnest nature, was comparatively easy. While so employed, he was impatient of interruption, and frequently denied himself to all visitors. An incident related by his pastor* happily illustrates his habits of study:—

> "During eight years I was his pastor, with an intimacy peculiarly free; and yet never but once did I venture to intrude on his morning and choicest study hours. Knowing the annoyance he felt at the briefest interruption at such times,—that he often studied with locked door, or did not respond when solicited,—I had invariably regarded his wishes. But necessity knows no rule. I rapped at the door of his study when he was most secluded. There was no response. I then gave the 'Faculty rap.' Still no answer. Satisfied that he was within, and that, if he knew my errand, he would welcome me, I addressed him by name, saying, 'Dr. Wayland, I must see you.' To this he replied in a gentle tone, 'Come in, Pastor.' I opened the door. Crossing the threshold, I found him, pen in hand, standing with his back to the little light which crept through the shutters nearly closed. In this room, thus darkened, he was *thinking*. It was at the time, I well remember, when he was making the analysis of his work on political economy—not one of his most difficult treatises, but requiring a large generalization, as well as a minute analysis. Everything at this period of his life was made tributary to his mental dicipline. I never knew the scholar so rarely interrupted in 'study hours' as he, and to this, in no small degree, is his success to be attributed."

It was Dr. Wayland's habit to qualify himself for such continuous and exhausting mental application by vigorous physical exercise. For many years this was his sole relief from study. Indeed, his only idea of relaxation was exercise in the open air. He enjoyed nothing so much as laboring in his garden, and it seemed to him that his favorite amusement must be equally attractive to all. Thus he writes to one from whom he expected a visit: "Come, and stay as long as you can. Bring your working clothes: there will be an opportunity to use them." He always preferred that his exercise should take the form of productive labor. If the weather was unfavorable for gardening, he resorted to sawing and splitting wood. When a clergyman once asked him to suggest some species of recreation not inconsistent with clerical propriety, he said, with a smile, "Walk." He rarely left his home, unless summoned by some immediate call of duty. Travelling for the sake of travelling was not to his taste, and not in accordance with the severe standard of daily duty to which he habitually conformed. It was only with great reluctance that he ever consented to make visits which did not combine with the pleasure of seeing friends and relatives, some useful labor to be accomplished. January 1, 1834, he writes, —

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* Rev. R. E. Pattison, D. D.

> "Your kind invitation is by no means slighted; but what should I do in Boston? Could I find my room, my fire, my books and papers there? I should be a mere hanger-on, in the way of other people, hindering them, and of no use to them or to myself. I should feel like the boy who played truant, finding neither the dog, nor the horse, nor the bee willing to play with him, and very glad to get back to school again."

He was ill at ease when not actively employed; as he once said, "I find doing nothing a most laborious and time-consuming business." It was, moreover, a marked peculiarity of his mental habits that he could never perform any literary labor with satisfaction to himself, except in the seclusion of his own study. Later in life he may have regretted that he had never learned the art of innocent recreation; but at the period of which we speak, he found his chief happiness in exerting to the utmost all the faculties of his mind.

At times he seemed aware that he was overtasking his strength. Thus he writes to his mother, June 3, 1831: —

"I have for a long time been aware that I owed you a letter, and have several times been on the point of paying the debt; but various circumstances, which I could not control, have prevented. Before my last term closed, I prepared a discourse on natural religion for Harvard University. This required much time and reflection. I was then obliged to go and deliver it, and afterwards to remain a week in Boston to preach for Mr. Malcom's congregation. When I returned, I had the writing of the term to finish. Subsequently my eyes showed symptoms of weakness, which, in these days of the sickness and breaking down of clergymen, I considered an admonition to use them less."

To his sister, 1832: —

"I am, my dear A., a perfect dray-horse. I am in harness from morning to night, and from one year to another. I am never turned out for recreation. Our term closed yesterday. To-morrow I go (D. V.) to New Bedford to prosecute college business, and raise some money for our library. Thus I shall be engaged all the vacation. Next term, the same thing is to be done over again. I want rest and ease for a little while. I barely seize a moment to write to you, out of the time which I have set apart for answering college letters. God, however, is pleased to smile upon our labors. We have a good entrance, and have done a good term's work, and are, by the blessing of Providence, making friends."

To Colonel Stone, March 14, 1832: —

"I rejoice that your labor is so nearly completed. I wish I could say the same of mine. I am pained to add that I cannot do what you request of me. By too close attention to writing during the last vacation, I have lamed my chest, and have not been able to write a page a day for weeks. I may be obliged to take a journey on horseback to recover. Even writing what I am obliged to do in correspondence affects me."

He could not, however, be persuaded to seek that relief from excessive labor, which those who were familar with his daily life frequently recommended. His wife writes to a friend, March 20, 1833, —

> "The anxiety of my husband to complete his work on moral science has led him to spend the vacation in writing, when he needed recreation to recruit his health, already much impaired by the severe and engrossing labors of the preceding term. His daily exercise of sawing and splitting wood has failed to keep him in good physical condition; and he needs a journey, but he will not allow himself this indulgence."

Yet while often exerting himself beyond the just limits of his capacity for labor, he did not fail to impress on others the importance of obeying the laws of health. He writes, June 3, 1831, to a relative engaged in teaching, —

> "You will be in great danger of forgetting the necessity of exercise both for yourself and for others. Remember that you are to look to nature and natural tendencies for lessons. A child loves play, and finds even simple motion agreeable. The Creator meant it should be so. Let it have play then; let its limbs be thoroughly and habitually exercised. Thus only can it have a sound and healthy constitution. Thus will you be able to counteract the sensitiveness acquired by study."

And again, —

> "I regret that you go to bed tired, and get up tired. This is not right. Sleep ought to do away with *tired*. You need, and must take, some sort of physical exercise, and get more sleep. Every twenty-four hours should take care of themselves, and provide for their own recuperation. To be tired on getting up, casts the burden of yesterday upon to-day."

While he delighted to receive his friends at his house, and welcomed them with generous hospitality, his studious habits were always rigidly maintained. All business engagements, and particularly his college appointments, were kept with exact and unvarying punctuality. Indeed, he never failed to recognize the paramount importance of his official obligations. On one occasion, when invited to preach in a neighboring city, he replied, —

> "I cannot preach for your people, as you request. I could not do it consistently with my views of duty. Could I feel that it was right, few things would give me greater pleasure. This, I trust, you know, and therefore I need not multiply words to assure you of it. I cannot leave home in term time, except for an extraordinary case."

The following letter written at a later period exhibits the same spirit: —

> "PROVIDENCE, July 15, 1845.
>
> "Rev. and dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 13, inviting me to be present at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of Union College.
>
> "Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to revisit once more the scenes of my early education, to renew those friendships, which, more than thirty years since, I formed within the walls of Union College, and to hold communion, although it were but for a day, with those teachers to whose instruction I owe whatever of success has attended my professional career. I fear, however, that my engagements will render it impossible for me to indulge my strong inclination. Our examinations, during the next week, will not allow me to be absent from home even for twenty-four hours. I learned long since, from the president of Union College (a name never uttered by his pupils without the most filial reverence and the most enthusiastic admiration), that the most powerful allurements of pleasure must bow to the requirements of duty. And I should hardly dare to appear in such a presence in disobedience to those instructions, which it has been the business of his life to exemplify. Should I not, therefore, be found in my place on Tuesday next, to answer to my name when the roll of the class of 1813 is called, I trust that my *alma mater* will allow me to plead, as my excuse, the principles with which she has imbued me."

Those leisure moments which he was able to snatch from the constant pressure of his steadily increasing cares, he gladly spent with his family. He was a man of tender affections and quick sensibilities, ever studying how best to promote the happiness of his wife and his children, and ministering to their comfort with prompt and delicate forethought. Of his only daughter, who died in 1829, at the age of fifteen months, he was especially fond, and the child warmly returned his love.

Mrs. Wayland writes, —

> "It was delightful to observe her father's increasing fondness for her. She was overjoyed whenever he entered the house, and always, when I told her that her papa was coming, she would run across the hall, holding out her little hands to embrace him."

A few years after the loss of this dear child, he was again called to pass through the furnace of affliction. On the 3d of April, 1834, death once more entered his little family and took from him his beloved wife. His feelings under this sore bereavement, his firm reliance upon the promises of God and the consolations of religion, his spirit of Christian resignation, and his all-absorbing desire to learn and profit by the true lessons of this mysterious providence, are fitly set forth in his letters to his parents and other relatives.

In view of the fact that the life and example of Mrs. Wayland, and the reflections suggested by her sickness and death, had an important influence in moulding the character and directing the aims of her husband, her sons do not feel that they are precluded by their relationship from presenting a brief estimate of her moral qualities, condensed from reminiscences prepared by Dr. Wayland, for the perusal of her children.

Her type of piety was earnest and active, leading her — notwithstanding her constitutional timidity — to make untiring efforts for the conversion of souls. She was greatly interested in the young, particularly those who were students in college, and improved every opportunity to direct their attention to the way of salvation, or, if they were professors of religion, to urge upon them entire consecration to Christ. There were, probably, very few of her young friends with whom she did not have personal and serious conversation on the subject of preparation for eternity. She assisted in the formation of the "Maternal Association," in the church with which she was connected, and her labors to promote the success of this society undoubtedly hastened her final illness.

But her efforts to benefit those with whom she came in contact were not confined to any age or condition in life. She lost no opportunity — whether within her own social circle, or among her casual acquaintances, or in her frequent ministries of consolation to the afflicted and bereaved, or in her charitable visits to the poor and friendless — of manifesting her deep concern for their spiritual welfare. She had great faith in prayer, and was accustomed to seek divine direction in every undertaking, not only of parental government and religious effort, but even of domestic detail.

" Her maternal character was peculiarly worthy of imitation. It is rare to see a mother who appeared to enjoy her children with so deep and tender an emotion. She seemed perfectly happy to witness their innocent playfulness, and especially to reciprocate their opening affection. Her care of their bodies and minds was incessant, amounting to a sort of limited omnipresence. Whatever else engaged her attention, she could not forget her children. But with all this strong attachment, she permitted no fault to pass unnoticed or uncorrected. She never suffered them to disobey her, but blended with her love a most persuasive, yet always efficient, authority."

The illness of Mrs. Wayland, although not of long duration, was painful and distressing in the extreme.

Dr. Wayland writes to her brother, March 4, 1834, —

" Lucy is exceedingly feeble. I know not what more to say. If she be spared, it will be a special and peculiar mercy. She suffers less than when I last wrote, but is greatly prostrated. I can sometimes look up with faith; but when I see her extreme debility, I hardly dare to hope. I can only say, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from me;' and then leave her with the gracious and merciful Savior. Pray for me and for us all."

To his parents: —

"PROVIDENCE, March 12, 1834.

"I observe that it was Leigh Richmond's practice to write to his mother annually, on his birthday. It struck me as a very appropriate custom, and I resolved to adopt it. Yesterday, however, which was my birthday, I was too unwell to write. My letter of to-day is the best evidence I can give of my intention to follow so good an example.

"Since I last wrote, Lucy has been on the border of the grave, where she still remains. I fear you will never see her again. She seems to be growing weaker and weaker, and from one day to another her departure is expected. She frequently speaks of you, and desires an interest in your prayers. This I know she has. I hope that I may soon receive a letter from you containing some words of consolation for her. She is remarkably patient, although in great distress; and while she has not that sense of pardon for which she longs, she gives to her friends clear evidence that she is a child of God.

"You will, I know, desire to know my feelings under this affliction. It is the severest stroke I have ever been called upon to bear. I can, however, say, if I do not mistake, that I lay my wife at the feet of Jesus, praying, 'If thou canst do anything for me, help me; but if not, glorify thy name.' I needed this affliction. There is not a single bearing of it that I have not needed. I hope it is the correction of a Father, and that he in faithfulness afflicts me. Although his hand presses me very sore, I think I would not have a finger removed unless as God wills. I believe that my prevalent desire is, that this sorrow may be sanctified to me, to my family, to the college, to the church, and to the world. Let me entreat you to wrestle with me in prayer that this correction may not be in vain.

"I did not, however, intend to write as a husband, but as a son. This day reminds me of the solicitude you have both felt for me, of the self-denial you have practised for me, of the prayers you have offered to God foi me, of the exhortations, the warnings, the reproofs, you have been obliged through my sinfulness to administer to me.

"For all these, my dear parents, I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking and blessing you. And this day also reminds me of my disobedience and thoughtlessness, of my waywardness and obstinacy, of the thousand times, in boyhood, and youth, and manhood, when I must have wounded your feelings. For all this, I would here with tears implore the forgiveness of my heavenly Father, and of you, the best of earthly parents. Never have I ceased to be sensible of your goodness, and always have I delighted to attribute whatever little success I may have had, more to you than to myself.

"My paper is almost filled, but I must make room to add that God is doing a glorious work in college. Nearly half — certainly more than a third — of those who were thoughtless at the commencement of the term, have expressed a hope in Christ. We look forward to still greater triumphs of the Holy Spirit. Help us to pray for it, and although our earthly comforts wither, may God still visit us with his rich salvation. Remember me most affectionately to the family. Lucy frequently speaks of you all. May we be prepared for a sick bed and a dying hour."

To the same: —

"PROVIDENCE, Friday, April 4, 1834.

"It has pleased God in his holy providence to take dear Lucy to himself. She was released from her great distress last evening, at about half past five o'clock. Her sufferings were severe; but, so far as we could discover, her mind was clear, and her last word was, 'Pray.' I cannot say more at present, but will soon write to you all. I can only beg a renewed interest in your prayers that I may be sustained, and especially that I may be sanctified and made more humble and holy."

To his father, April 17, 1834: —

"Your very acceptable letter reached me on my return from New York, whither I was called by business. I should have gone to Saratoga Springs to visit you, but I felt that my little family needed my presence; and also it seemed to me that when God afflicts us, it is not pleasing to him for us to run away from his dispensation. Where his hand is upon us, there I suppose he means us to be. I have thought that one of the most important considerations connected with afflictions is, that they are a special and very costly means of grace. Is not this evident from David's remark, 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints'? This has been to me one of the most solemn views connected with my bereavement. I never so much felt the need of the prayers of those who love me, as for this one thing — that this affliction might be sanctified to me. I see that afflictions, of themselves, are by no means sanctification. They are only means, and are useful only as they are attended by the influences of the Holy Spirit. For these I have not ceased to pray, and I beg you to pray not so much for present support, as for great and peculiar sanctification. Your remark that you have found afflictions blessed to you is a great comfort to me. I pray God that I may have the same rich experience."

To his parents: —

" PROVIDENCE, June 6, 1834.

"Your very acceptable and consoling letter was duly received, and I have ever since been seeking daily for an opportunity to answer it. But the fact is, that, in addition to my college duties, there seems a special door opened in several ways to be useful in the dissemination of religious truth; and I have been thus so constantly occupied that I have been obliged to take every moment I could get for sleep and exercise. As it is, although my health is good, yet it is barely sufficient for the accomplishment of what I have to do.

"You refer to my apparent depression of spirits. Perhaps it is so. The affliction is continually present with me, and casts a gloom over everything. It is not the acute anguish that it was, but rather like the dull, heavy, continued throbbing after a grievous, lacerating wound. You will say this ought not to be; the Lord hath done all things well; has glorified his name, and will glorify it again. I believe and know this, and hope that this pain will work in me the peaceable fruits of righteousness. I would not alter the Lord's doing, and am sometimes melted at his goodness. I would not but have drunk the cup. Still it is very bitter, and the rod is very heavy, and it requires a strong effort of faith and hope to receive it as I ought.

"I know that it is the Christian's privilege to rejoice in the Lord always, and to be exceedingly joyful in all tribulation; but I cannot say that I have as yet attained to this. I think, however, that I can truly say that I have sought consolation nowhere else, and desire it from no other source. My prayer has been, and is, that God would glorify his name in this event, cause me to be sanctified by it, and make me habitually heavenly-minded. I have a comfortable hope that he will do this, although I have not the evidence of its actual accomplishment which I could desire.

"I wish that I could give you a more cheering account of my feelings. Perhaps the cold and wet weather, which has in a measure deprived me of exercise, has had some effect. I do most sincerely thank you for your tender sympathy and your prayers, which I believe will be answered."

He writes to his mother, September 28, 1834, —

"I know that I want nothing but a large effusion of the Holy Spirit, and the presence of Christ in my own soul, to render me perfectly happy. There are sad reminiscences everywhere around me, and everything which I hear or see recalls them to my mind. But they ought to point me to heaven, and bid me reflect how those who have gone before are spending their eternity, and how we, who expect to follow them, ought to be spending our time. I seem to myself to be feebly striving after more holiness, and longing to be more conformed to the image of Christ. But I make, at the best, such tardy, such almost imperceptible progress, I am so frequently overcome by temptation, that I am at times ready to give up all for lost. God has bestowed upon me abundant means of grace. The situation in which I am placed, the responsibility of so many young men, the various opportunities which I enjoy for making others better, should call me to the very highest attainments in holiness. Besides this, he has laid upon me an affliction which comes upon me daily, and which is in its nature peculiarly fitted to lead the mind to heaven.

When I consider all these things, and my own sin and unfaithfulness, I am almost overwhelmed. My only refuge is in that blood which cleanses from all sin. I hope, my dear mother, that you can tell me some way of making more rapid progress in divine things, and of gaining more deadness to the world and more close and vital union to Christ.

"I can hardly say how much I thank you for your late visit. It was very kind in you to travel so far to see me in my loneliness. I pray God to reward you, and in some way or other to make your coming a blessing to us all."

To his sister, October 27, 1834: —

". . . I am daily working at my Moral Philosophy, carrying on the business of the college, and endeavoring to do my duty as best I can. My little boys are doing well, and I have much to be thankful for. Still my house is lonely, my avocations without stimulus, and I go on in a steady, monotonous sort of way. I try to live religiously; to maintain a temper of faith, and hope, and resignation. Sometimes I trust that I succeed; but I am very frequently far off again, and need the use of every means to bring me back. How blessed a doctrine is the intercession of Christ to such poor sinners! How strong is the ground of hope! How near it brings us in union with Christ and heaven!"

Writing, in 1834, to a relative, he says, —

". . . I am constantly employed, and suffer mainly from a sort of dulness, a steady monotony of occupation, affording no play to the feelings to which I have been accustomed, combined with a sense of sadness and lacerated recollection which meets me in everything I see and surprises me in everything I do. Yet this is a portion of the cup which has been poured out for me by my Father in heaven, and I feel happy whenever I can bow in submission to just what he appoints."

To his parents: —

"PROVIDENCE, November 18, 1834.

"Your very kind letter was duly received, for which accept my warmest thanks. I rejoice to hear of the improving health of my mother, and that when you wrote, everything was going on so pleasantly with you.

"It has pleased our heavenly Father to enter your pleasant circle by death. I know what it is by sad experience, and thought of you much and often during the Sabbath day of your trial, and since that event. Though your consolations in this case abound, yet there is a deep and awful sadness in the death of those we love which nothing can remove. Indeed, I am not sure that it ought to be removed. It seems as if the veil which separates time from eternity were for a space withdrawn, and we almost became inhabitants of the other world. I trust that as your affliction has abounded, your consolation has yet more abounded, and that you have already seen, and may still more see, its good effects upon the other members of your family.

"How sweetly and how fully was the dear child prepared, and in how short a time! I have thought that a brief account of her conversion, sickness, and death might be very profitable to the young, and might be a valuable addition to our narratives of pious children.

". . . I am quite alone, but this very loneliness may be of service to me. It is a path that I have never trodden before. I think its tendency is to wean the mind from creatures, and, if sanctified by the Holy Spirit, must also tend to fix the affections upon God. I hope that it renders the truths of religion more precious to me, and the doctrine of the atonement more my companion than formerly. We need to have our wills subdued to the will of Christ in all manners and by all methods. It is necessary to learn to do his will, to suffer his will, to make him our trust and confidence; and he knows best the methods which will most successfully accomplish this holy purpose.

"Occupied so continually as I am and have been for a long time in worldly business, perhaps this is the only way in which I could be taught the lesson. If he will only sanctify it to me, I think I am willing to bear it so long as he shall lay his hand upon me. That is, I shall be willing so long as he grants me grace to subdue my will to his. Otherwise I shall rebel and repine in a moment, and say with Jonah, 'I do well to be angry.'"

"PROVIDENCE, March 11, 1835.

"My dear Parents: A year since I wrote to you under the immediate visitation of the chastening of God. In one room lay dear Lucy on the bed of sickness unto death, and in the other I had been confined for some days, with barely sufficient strength to write to you. How many the changes which have been meted out to me since then! After three weeks more of most afflictive suffering, dear Lucy was released, to join, as I doubt not, the general assembly and church of the first born. What a glorious year has it been to her! What attainment in holiness has she made before this! How must our sluggishness in the cause of Christ seem to her now! and how precious every self-denial for the Savior's sake, every sigh of penitence, and every breathing after holiness! Let us learn how to live here, by reflecting how the saints above must, at the present moment, look down upon our actions.

"As for myself, I have to sing of mercy and of judgment. I hope that this affliction has been sent by the chastening hand of a covenant-keeping God. It seems to me, if I do not deceive myself, that my will is somewhat more subdued than formerly; that I long more for holiness, and see more desirableness in the Christian graces. I hope that I have some clearer views of the holiness of the law of God, and of the way of salvation by Christ, and a more prevalent desire to go out of myself, and to be found alone in Him who loved me and gave himself for me.

"If these are the fruits of affliction, it surely ought not to be grievous, but rather joyous. And although these blessed results are infinitely less than they should be, and much less than others have enjoyed, yet I would bless God for his faithfulness in answering my poor supplications in the day of my trial.

"But besides these, I have many other mercies to record. The lives of all the rest of our immediate family have been spared, especially that of dear mother, of late brought very low. This is a cause for fervent and united thanksgiving from one and all of us. Let us praise his holy name for this, and also for the comforts of his presence which he granted both to mother, when sick, and to you, my dear father, when you were threatened with so severe a bereavement. For so many kind brothers and sisters, who, with you, have been permitted to visit me, I would also thank the Lord. It was a great mercy to me in my loneliness and sorrow. For the kind provision which God has made for my dear little boys, I ought to be very grateful. I give thanks to God that I am able to have them with me, instead of seeing them scattered abroad, as some children have been under similar circumstances. I desire also to be thankful that God inclined me to take the charge of them myself, rather than intrust them to the care of others. This has been, I think, a blessing to them and to me. They are more attached to me, and I am to them; and I believe that they have improved in character and conduct, notwithstanding their irreparable loss.

"For the health which we have all enjoyed, I would also return thanks. I do not think that we have passed any year with so little sickness, or one in which my children would not have suffered more severely for the want of the attentions of their dear mother. Then God has enabled me, notwithstanding all my domestic cares, to accomplish more study and writing than in any previous year. He has, since you were here, brought me nearly to the close of my work on moral philosophy, which has cost me a good deal of labor. And this in addition to my other labors in college, and as many extra duties as usual.

"Thus you see that I have abundant reason to speak well of his name. What an infinite mercy is it to be called by his grace! still more to be chastened for our good, and still more to have the chastisement attended with so many unmerited and peculiar blessings.

"I sometimes feel lonely, although not so much so as I feared. I think that God has ordered my present arrangements in mercy, and that they are the best which, under the circumstances, could have been made. It is a most grateful recollection to look back and see that when we knew not what to do, and committed our way unto the Lord, he directed our steps. Especially has this been the case when we had no experience to guide us, and could not possibly tell, of two ways, which was the better."

"PROVIDENCE, March 11, 1836.

"My very dear Mother: I am again reminded of my promise, made some time since, to write to you on my birthday. I fulfil it with great pleasure, in the hope that whenever your health will permit, — but not otherwise, — you will send me a few lines in return.

" I cannot think of this period without again calling to mind the scenes through which I was passing two years ago this day. The bitterness of that season I can never forget, although time has somewhat blunted the edge of the pain. Throughout the period which has since elapsed, God has graciously supported me, and in mercy led me along all my path. My bread has been given me, and my water has been sure. All my wants have been richly supplied. My house has been in peace, and my children in health. . . . They are very fond of me, and, I believe, try, especially of late, to obey me from love. They got through the whole of last week without a single reproof.

" It has also pleased God to give me unusual success in my labors since he saw fit to afflict me. I think I have never done so much writing, nor, so far as I can judge, with so good success. I hope that what I have published during the past year may be useful, both to the more advanced and to the young. For all this I have unspeakable reason to be thankful, and, yet more, to be prayerful. It seems to me of not so much importance what we do, as what we do prayerfully. We have little reason to hope that our efforts to do good will succeed, unless they be sanctified with prayer; and if they succeed, we shall derive only so much blessing as belongs to a right temper of mind. In this, I find myself, most of all, deficient. There is a restlessness about me which demands employment. As soon as I have done with one thing, I must be engaged in another, or I am miserably downcast and unhappy. When my Moral Philosophy was finished, I was uneasy until the Political Economy was commenced; and now that this is under way, I cannot willingly do anything else until it is completed.

" But to carry on the spiritual work which ought to accompany and sanctify these things, and make them really sacrifices to the blessed Savior, — this I find to be a very different and vastly more difficult work. I discover in myself no tendency to holiness. Whatever in me is holy, is the work of the Spirit, and of him alone. Yet I strive, if I do not mistake, to maintain a spiritual mind. I pray, and, I think, labor, to live near to God. Sometimes I seem to gain some little nearness to Christ, and feel a temper of submission to his commandments; but soon I find myself again longing for the sources of this world's happiness, or murmuring against the dispensations of Providence, or else so engrossed in my studies that all I have gained is lost, and I am once more the sport of wild affections, unreasonable desires, and all the corruptions of the human heart.

"I hope, however, that the Savior does not leave me entirely desolate. He brings me back again at times, and fills me with confusion at my own waywardness and sin. I hope the result of all his dealings with me will be to show me more than I have ever before known of the wickedness and deceitfulness of the heart of man, of my own utter helplessness by reason of sin, and of the absolute necessity of relying on the Savior for strength as well as for pardon. I think I see more of my need of the righteousness of Christ, and that I am only complete in him. But I am reminded of what Fuller, or Cecil, — I forget which, — calls a 'dry faith.' I see these things. I think I can rest my soul upon them. At times I mourn over my sins, but I am confounded when I reflect upon my want of affection and love to the Savior. I know that in Christ is all that is calculated to draw out the warmest love and desire for his person — the same fervor of attachment which we feel for a near and beloved friend, only infinitely purer and more intense. But here I feel my great deficiency. My affections seem paralyzed. I long for the love which I ought to feel, but I do not feel it. I desire to be like him; I desire to obey him. I lament my waywardness and folly. I think I would part with everything for more holiness. But still my heart is unwarmed; my affections are unmoved; yet I long, and pray, and trust I may yet feel his love shed abroad in my heart.

"I will not apologize for writing so much about myself, for, knowing so well your kindness and forbearance, I am sure that you will willingly read anything even on such a subject as this — my poor, miserable, and sluggish feelings, and my hard, rebellious heart.

"I rejoice, my dear mother, that you have been spared during the past winter, and have got through it so much better than the last, although it has been violently cold and severe. The river here is still frozen — a thing that, I presume, has not occurred for a great many years. I bless God that he has spared you to counsel, guide, and pray for us for another year. I believe that we have all been greatly assisted in our various employments by the prayers of dear father and yourself. Doubtless it sometimes seems to you trying that you are confined to your chamber and unable to render much active assistance to your family. But, my dear mother, you little know how much you are doing. Probably no part of your life was ever spent so profitably. Think how many of us are engaged in, I hope, not useless duties. If the labor of any one of us is made more effectual through your prayers, — and of this I have no manner of doubt, — you are working, not with one pair of hands, but with several; not in one place, but in many places; not in one sphere of duty, but in various, and all of them interesting spheres of duty. Be not, then, discouraged or disheartened, inasmuch as your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

April 7, 1835, he writes to a relative, —

". . . I bless God for what you write respecting young ——. These are the unmerited rewards which God sometimes gives us. It is, I believe, greatly in answer to the prayers of that sweet saint who now sleeps in Jesus. I have felt that, so far as I am concerned, it was worth going through all the affliction I have suffered during the past year, to have been made the instrument in the hands of the Savior of being useful to one soul — especially of one who is likely to be so useful to others."

It will have been observed that he counted it as one of the crowning mercies vouchsafed to him by a compassionate and covenant-keeping God, that he was permitted to have his surviving children with him, "instead of seeing them scattered abroad, as some children have been under similar circumstances." For his sons, deprived at so early an age of the constant care and fostering love of a mother, his parental solicitude was manifested in many ways. He devoted himself with renewed zeal to their mental and moral training. He joined in their childish sports, and sympathized with their youthful feelings. Many a visitor was surprised, when, calling upon the president at his residence, to find him stretched at full length upon the floor, engaged in a frolic with his boys, and abundantly enjoying their wild delight when they were allowed to believe that they had conquered their father. Often, as they met him on the college green returning from his study, he would carry them home on his shoulders, much to the amusement of those who witnessed this exhibition of parental affection. He made them his companions in his walks, in his exercise in the garden or the wood-shed, and took them with him during his brief journeys, whenever his engagements did not conflict with the care and oversight which their youth and inexperience required. Writing to a relative, February 20, 1835, he says, —

"My few leisure hours are almost all spent with my children, and I always feel guilty when I neglect them. They need all my time and attention."

But there were hours for study as well as for relaxation. The efforts of the faithful teacher to impart instruction suited to their tender years were efficiently aided by home discipline. Reports from school of good conduct and diligent attention to lessons were always rewarded in such a manner as to encourage obedience and industry, while idle or wayward habits were promptly but kindly corrected. Dr. Wayland was fond of entertaining his children with stories of his own invention, or founded upon incidents in his early life. These were frequently continued from evening to evening for weeks, and were eagerly anticipated and intensely enjoyed by his little hearers. From time to time he read to them books combining amusement with instruction — such as Sandford and Merton, Robinson Crusoe, Swiss Family Robinson, and the Parents' Assistant.

On Sabbath evenings it was his invariable custom to give them biblical instruction in the form of Scripture narrative. The lives of the Old and New Testament worthies — especial reference being had to the recorded incidents of their boyhood — were presented so simply and with such frequent enforcement of the practical lessons to be learned, as to render the hours so spent not only full of interest, but rich in the inculcation of religious truth.

Thus did he teach his sons to look upon their father as their best earthly friend, while seeking, at the same time, to fasten their affections upon that Savior who took little children in his arms and blessed them.

Time had not blunted the edge of his great sorrow before he was visited with a fresh affliction. On the 5th of December, 1836, his mother, so fondly loved and so tenderly revered, was taken to her eternal rest. He writes to his bereaved father, December 8, 1836, —

". . . Of the bitterness of your sorrow I can form some conception. I know you will say that before this you had hardly known the meaning of affliction, and had scarcely felt the chastening hand of our heavenly Father. Rarely has any husband lost such a wife, rarely have children lost such a mother. You have felt that the light of your tabernacle is put out, that the glory of your house is departed, that you have been cleft in twain by a single stroke, and that the bleeding wound is exposed to pain from even the touch of your nearest friends.

"But while all this is so, let us look to the hills from whence cometh our help. When my spirit is overwhelmed within me, *Thou* knowest the path that I take. No affliction for the present seemeth joyous, but grievous; yet afterwards it worketh the peaceful fruits of righteousness to those that are exercised thereby. Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. Let us, then, endeavor to look upon this dispensation in the light of the sanctuary, and survey those points in which it may melt and humble our hearts in gratitude. This I have found to be the best balm to a wounded spirit. When we can look up to God in gratitude and love, we can say, almost in exultation, These light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

"How thankful should we be to God for giving to our dear mother so superior a mind, so accurate and discriminating a judgment, so strong and expansive a thirst for knowledge, such tender and enduring affections, so warm and self-denying a charity, and, above all, that he sanctified all these excellent qualities by calling her so early to a knowledge of himself! How can we be sufficiently grateful to him for that grace which he bestowed upon her in causing her path through life to be that of the just that shineth more and more unto the perfect day, and throughout her whole course rendering her so bright, so illustrious an example of the excellency of his grace, so that, wherever she lived, wherever she was known, in public or in private, among Christians or men and women of the world, among the young or old, every one loved, every one venerated her, every one was willingly constrained to confess that she was an Israelite indeed, a chosen and much beloved disciple of Christ! How great reason have we to be thankful that she has been spared to us so long, and has been in so many cases our guide and counsellor, that all her children have grown up to love and honor her, and that we have all had for so long a time the blessing of her advice, her example, and her prayers! How great reason have we to be thankful that her mind was spared to the last, that so many of those she loved were around her bed, that Christ was with her, and that, as she was entering into rest, she was permitted to look back upon us, and to say to us, 'All's well'! And all is now well with thee, beloved saint. That aching head now rests upon thy Savior's breast; that heaving bosom shall throb no more with sorrow, or anguish, or regret, or repentance. Thou art now a pillar in the temple of thy God. Thou hast eaten of the hidden manna. Thou hast washed thy robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. He that sitteth on the throne hath wiped away all tears from thine eyes. Thou art now forever with the Lord. We have seen thee ascend as in a chariot of fire. O that thy mantle may rest upon us who remain!

"My dear father, let us comfort each other with these words. I pray God to be with you, to strengthen, comfort, stablish you, and make you to come out of this fire, as gold seven times purified.

Your affectionate and sympathizing son."

To his sister in a letter of the same date: —

"That I am with you in spirit, my dearest sister, I need not say. I feel indeed as though I were really with you. I go from room to room. I gaze with you on that form which so lately moved among us, on those lips from which we have received our best instructions, on those eyes which always beamed on us with love, and which, I fear, we have often caused to fill with tears: and I witness that calm, heavenly composure shining upon the tabernacle from which a glorified spirit has so lately departed. I feel deeply the loss which I have sustained in not being with you, to hear the last words and catch the latest exhortations of so blessed a saint.

"What a treasure have we, in the recollections of such a mother! What a blessing to have such an assurance, such a consciousness even, that she is now present with the Lord! It seems almost as though we had seen the chariot of fire in which she ascended, and heard her song of glory coming back to us after she had left the house of her bondage.

"I pray God, my dear sister, to be with you and help you. The chasm in your circle can only be filled by the presence of God himself. No arm can sustain you but the arm of omnipotence. House, and home, and earthly happiness are words of which the signification has wonderfully departed, and affliction has acquired a meaning which it never before possessed. Yet let us look up to God as our Father, and cherish more fondly our love for the Savior as earthly affections are dried up."

To his father, January 3, 1837: —

"I have thought much of you, my dear father, and my dear sisters, at the return of these anniversaries. I know how different they are to you from any which you have before spent. I know by experience how they bring with them all the thronging recollections of years past, and the contrast between what is and what has been seems at times too much for the heart to endure. Such, I know, have been your feelings at the present time. But even to this there is a bright side. We may look beyond the grave, and think on the contrast which must be experienced by souls in heaven. How different their Sabbaths, their anniversaries, from ours! I have thought frequently of our Lord's remark to his disciples. 'And now I go my way to him that sent me, and none of you asketh me, Whither goest thou? but because I have said these things, sorrow hath filled your hearts.' 'None of you asketh me,' as though he had said, If you were to ask me whither I am going, and were to reflect upon the exaltation to which I am to be raised, you would sorrow no more, but your sorrow would be turned into joy. Thus, I suppose, it should be with us. We should remember the crowns that our beloved ones wear, the palms of victory which they carry, the robe of righteousness with which they are clothed, the rewards which God has given to all their labors, and sorrows, and self-denials, and thus we should the less grieve at their departure.

"I bless God, my dear father, for the special and peculiar support which he has granted you, and for the abundant manifestation of his presence with which he has cheered you. At such an hour as this, what could you have done without him and the light of his countenance? Let us be thankful for all that is past, and even over the graves of those we love, erect our Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto the Lord has helped us."

To his sister: —

"Your very welcome letter came duly to hand. I bless God that he supported you through that trying scene — the most trying that a child can ever witness. But, my dear S., what a blessing it is to have had such a mother! I do not know anywhere so perfect a character. She looks to me not merely bright, but spotless. How expansive and universal her love to everybody, but how tender, how endearing to us! How boundless, and how full of forethought her self-denial! How meek and how gentle her spirit! How pure and heavenly her thoughts, and how strong and unwavering her faith! As you say, we ought to have been, and we ought to be, very different from others. We should be specially grateful to the Savior for all his goodness to her, and specially for his goodness to her at the last.

"We must collect all of her letters. I regret that they were so few, but they are invaluable. The letter she wrote to me on the death of Lucy, and all that she has ever written to me, are perfect of their kind, and breathe the very spirit which animated her.

"I hope this week to look over my letters and select hers from them. If we all do this, we may be able to form a delightful little memorial of her. She wrote me on my birthdays, and occasionally wrote also with dear father at different times. What a blessed testimony she left everywhere to young and old, at home and abroad! What do we not owe to her prayers and her example! It has frequently seemed to me, that whatever success any of us has had, has been much more the result of the prayers of our parents than of our own exertions, or anything in ourselves. Let us all strive to be like her, and then we shall be with her. But especially would I imitate her lovely humility, her child-like meekness, her touching self-denial and disinterestedness, and her tender and affecting charity. These were her peculiar graces, and she seemed to have learned the art of imitating the Savior most successfully. It was a type of character to which very few attain. And, blessed saint, how little did she believe that she possessed it!

"I feel most deeply for dear father. I praise God for the support which he is receiving. Nothing but help from on high could hold him up, severed, crushed, as he is. But I see that in the furnace one walks 'with him like unto the Son of God, and the smell of fire shall not even pass upon him.' Yet no one who has not gone through this furnace can tell how hot it is; and it is impossible that any can be more severe than that which now surrounds him. There have been few such unions; so long, so harmonious, so entirely happy. May God be with him yet. We will be all to him that we can, and will unite to render his sorrow as light as possible. And let us remember the voice of the dear departed saint, and be drawn closer together by this overwhelming stroke."

CHAPTER XVIII.

"ELEMENTS OF MORAL SCIENCE." — ITS RECEPTION. — TRANSLATIONS. — "ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY." — "LIMITATIONS OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY." — SECOND MARRIAGE. — RHODE ISLAND HALL AND THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.

DURING these years of affliction, Dr. Wayland's devotion to his official duties never abated. He wasted no time in unprofitable grief. While with Christian resignation he bowed meekly under the chastening hand of his Maker, and sought to learn the true lessons of these providences, he did not overlook the importance of preserving a healthy mental tone by constant occupation. Writing, in 1837, to a relative who had recently suffered a severe bereavement, he says, —

"May God support you, my brother. Be engaged in duty as much as possible. If you are for a moment unemployed, you may not be able to bear your sorrow. Prayer and duty are the supports which we must seek in such afflictions. If I had not labored to the utmost limit of my strength, it seems to me that I must have sunk."

We have already seen that he did not content himself with following the text-books which he found in use when he became president, and that he very soon began to deliver lectures to his pupils upon moral philosophy and political economy. The increased interest imparted to the exercises of the class-room by this mode of instruction naturally suggested the idea of publishing these lectures in the form of treatises upon the subjects taught.

He first prepared for the press his Elements of Moral Science.

With what motives and in what temper of mind this labor was commenced, will appear by an extract from his journal, December 22, 1833: —

"I have thought of publishing a work on moral philosophy. Direct me, O thou all-wise and pure Spirit. Let me not do it unless it be for thy glory and the good of men. If I should do it, may it be all true, so far as human knowledge at present extends. Enlighten, guide, and teach me so that I may write something which shall show thy justice more clearly than heretofore, and the necessity and excellency of the plan of salvation by Christ Jesus, the blessed Redeemer. All which I ask through his merits alone. Amen."

He writes to his sister December 26, 1834: —

". . . I have wrought at my work with only tolerable success. It is slower labor than one would suppose; but if it proves to be true, and does anything towards settling points in ethics which were before considered doubtful, it matters not how long it takes. The shortest time in which anything can be done is precisely the time necessary to do it well. This saves subsequent labor, and it is better to aim at correctness than to repair incorrectness."

To the same, February 28, 1835: —

"I am getting towards the close of my moral philosophy, which, if it proves of any value, will be a good work done. It has cost me a great deal of time and thought, for which I hope the world will be better."

To the same, May 14, 1835: —

". . . My book (Elements of Moral Science) is out to-day, and you will soon receive a copy. I want you all to read it through as soon as your other duties will permit, and let me know candidly what is the first impression it makes upon you. If I can get the honest criticism of a few candid persons, I can easily judge how it will strike the rest of the world. I suppose it is natural and innocent to desire it to succeed, and right to wish that, if it be the will of God, it may be useful."

June 6, 1835, he writes in his journal, —

"During the year succeeding my affliction, God enabled me to prepare and publish my work on moral philosophy, a labor on which I had long been meditating. I have endeavored to make known the ways of God to man. Lord God of Hosts, I commend to thee, through Jesus Christ thy Son, this work. May it promote the cause of truth, of peace, and of righteousness. I lay it before thee, and cast it at thy feet. I humbly pray that thy good Spirit may cause whatever of it is true to be believed, received, and practised, and whatever is false to be discovered, refuted, and confounded, so that it may do good and no harm to thy cause. But when I consider the greatness of such an undertaking, and the good it may accomplish, if successful, what am I, that I should hope for so much favor? I dare not; only, my God, if it should please thee for thy Son's sake to condescend thus to use me, make me humble and grateful, and let me give all the glory to thy holy name."

In the preface to the first edition of the Elements of Moral Science, Dr. Wayland explains at some length the design with which the volume was prepared, and the reasons which induced him to publish it as a text-book.

"When it became my duty to instruct in moral philosophy in Brown University, the text-book in use was the work of Dr. Paley. From many of his principles I found myself compelled to dissent, and at first contented myself with stating to my classes my objections to the author, and offering my views in the form of familiar conversations upon several of the topics which he discusses. These views, for my own convenience, I soon committed to paper, and delivered in the form of lectures. In a few years these lectures had become so extended, that, to my surprise, they contained in themselves the elements of a different system from that of the text-book which I was teaching. To avoid the inconvenience of teaching two different systems, I undertook to reduce them to order, and to make such additions as would render the work complete in itself. I then relinquished the work of Dr. Paley, and for some time have been in the habit of instructing solely by lecture. The success of the attempt exceeded my expectations, and encouraged me to hope that the publication of what I had delivered to my classes might in some small degree facilitate the study of moral science.

"From these circumstances the work has derived its character. Being designed for the purposes of instruction, its aim is to be simple, clear, and purely didactic. I have rarely gone into extended discussion, but have contented myself with the attempt to state the moral law, and the reason of it, in as few and as comprehensive terms as possible. The illustration of the principles, and the application of them to cases in ordinary life, I have generally left to the instructor or to the student himself. Hence, also, I have omitted everything which relates to the history of opinions, and have made but little allusion to the opinions themselves from which I dissent. To have acted otherwise would have extended the undertaking greatly beyond the limits which I had assigned to myself; and it seemed to me not to belong to the design which I had in view. A work which should attempt to exhibit what was true appeared to me more desirable than one which should point out what was exploded, discuss what was doubtful, or disprove what was false.

"In the course of the work I have quoted but few authorities, as in preparing it I have referred to but few books. I make this remark in no manner for the sake of laying claim to originality, but to avoid the impression of using the labors of others without acknowledgment. When I commenced the undertaking, I attempted to read extensively, but soon found it so difficult to arrive at any definite results in this manner, that the necessities of my situation obliged me to rely upon my own reflection. That I have thus come to the same conclusion with many others, I should be unwilling to doubt. When this coincidence of opinion has come to my knowledge, I have mentioned it. When it is not mentioned, it is because I have not known it. . . ."

The success of the treatise, the origin and design of which are thus modestly described by its author, has long since become a matter of history. The clearness and independence of its teachings, the elevation of its moral tone, the candor and ability of its discussions of practical ethics, and the humane and catholic spirit with which it is imbued, have given it a celebrity hardly less than world-wide.

The first edition was soon exhausted, and in September, 1835, a second was published. "It was almost immediately adopted by a large number of the colleges, academies, and high schools of the country; and although thirty years have since elapsed, it still holds its place, almost without a rival." *

Meanwhile, the labors of the author were commended by those whose approval could not fail to afford him the highest gratification. Professor Moses Stuart writes, July 23, 1835, —

> "Thanks for your excellent book on morals. I have as yet found time to read but few chapters. *Sed ex ungue leonem.* Brother Woods says, 'It is the first entirely Christian book of this kind that we have had.'"

Chancellor Kent writes, —

> "NEW YORK, July 25, 1835.
>
> "Dear Sir: I have just finished the perusal of your work on the Elements of Moral Science. I have read it carefully and with deep interest. The first half of the volume, on theoretical and practical ethics, was by far the most interesting to me. The residue of the work, on the duties of man to man, led me over ground with which I have been familiar, and most of the topics are discussed at large in my Commentaries. Your views, however, on that branch of the subject are just and striking, as well as remarkably clear and sound.
>
> "Take the volume together, I do not know where to look for its equal. The results of natural religion are strikingly displayed. The chapters on Virtue, and on Love to God, or Piety, are masterly. I never read a discussion more interesting or affecting, or one that set forth my own imperfections in a more impressive light. Such discussions affect me more than a thousand sermons, because the arguments are addressed so fairly and so rationally to the judgment and conscience of the reader.
>
> "Permit me, my dear sir, once more to return you my

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* Professor Chace's Commemorative Discourse.

grateful and humble thanks for your admirable work, and to assure you of the high veneration and esteem of

Your friend and obedient servant,
JAMES KENT."

His early and attached friend, Rev. R. Anderson, D. D., secretary of the American Board, wrote as follows: —

"BOSTON, May 30, 1835.

"My dear Brother: . . . I desired to thank you in person for your invaluable work on moral science. How exquisite your satisfaction must have been in rearing the fabric of that noble science upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone! Be assured, my dear brother, that you have not lived in vain. I have not yet had time to commence the reading of the volume in course, but I have examined it carefully in those parts of the system which I deemed vital, and in others which have, at present, a great practical importance in our community, such as slavery, war, &c.; and the whole appears to me to be founded upon a rock which cannot be moved. What strikes me very forcibly is, the very obvious relations of the different parts of your system to each other. This strengthens the edifice exceedingly.

"The existence of these relations is, indeed, no new thing; but nowhere, to my knowledge, have they been rendered so obvious. This may be owing, in part, to the conciseness of your statements, but is far more to be attributed to your full and hearty recognition of certain great scriptural principles which lie at the foundation of morals. My dear brother, I rejoice, I give thanks to God, that I see nothing in you of that parleying with the world which is so fatal in Paley. You are bold and uncompromising, but not unreasonable, nor wanting in candor. I am not sure that your work will be, at once, received with general favor, though it will be generally read; but I cannot doubt that it will ultimately carry the day, and exert a most auspicious influence, not only in the church, but on the politics of our nation, and on the whole structure of society. We needed a treatise on this subject which should become authority, and this will become such. . . ."

Far more gratifying to the author than such testimonials was the evidence which was furnished, from time to time, until the close of his life, of the influence which, by means of this work, he had been permitted to exert in leading souls to Christ. This was a most welcome answer to his earnest prayers that his labors might be sanctified to the glory of God and the good of his fellow-men. A single fact which comes to our knowledge as these pages are preparing for the press is representative of many similar instances. A young lady of great intelligence, but destitute of all faith in religion as a personal reality, was a member of the State Normal School at ——, qualifying herself for usefulness as a teacher. While so employed, she studied Wayland's Moral Science as a part of the prescribed course. The teachings of this book removed her spirit of scepticism, and led her to place her reliance upon the work of the Redeemer. She is now one of the heroic band of laborers in the foreign missionary field.

The Moral Science has reached a circulation of ninety-five thousand copies, and an abridgment (prepared for the use of the younger class of pupils) a circulation of forty-two thousand. The work has also been republished in England and in Scotland.

In this connection the following letters from honored missionaries of the American Board will be read with interest: —

"HONOLULU, SANDWICH ISLANDS,
December 2, 1841.

"Dr. Wayland: The accompanying volume contains so much of the matter and form of your small work on moral science that it may be properly called a translation of it. A few new topics have been introduced, and the discussion in some cases modified by a variety of illustrations adapted to the people of these islands; but in the form and basis it is the same as your compend. I have thought that it would be gratifying to you to know this, and to receive a copy of the translation in the Hawaiian language. That it will be of great use in our schools, and especially in our seminaries, there can be no doubt. I am now going through it with a class of fifty adults, including the governor of the island of Oahu and his principal magistrates. The subject of conscience is entirely new to them, and deeply interesting. They have no word for it in their language, but they readily perceive that there is such a faculty, and they are delighted with the discovery.

"On all moral subjects their minds are yet very much in the dark, and such a work as this has been long and loudly called for. It is now adopted by the resident committee of the Tract Society here, and printed at their expense.

Very truly yours,
RICHARD ARMSTRONG."

"CONSTANTINOPLE, September 14, 1847.

"REV. F. WAYLAND, D. D., President of Brown University.

"My dear Sir: I have forwarded to the Missionary House (care of Dr. Anderson) two copies of your Elements of Moral Science, translated into Armenian, which I beg you to accept as a proof that the book is appreciated here, and that you have become a co-laborer in the great work of regenerating the East.

"The volume is admirably adapted to be useful among the awakened and more intelligent class of Armenians, and is read by many of them with a freshness of interest resulting in part from their previous erroneous ideas of moral science.

"I have sent a copy of your Elements of Political Economy to the secretary of the grand vizier, a gentleman well versed in English, and I hope his master will order its translation into Turkish or Armenian. Should he do so, I shall send you a copy as soon as it is issued from the press. I have very carefully revised the translation I now send, and should the Political Economy be published here, I shall endeavor to see that it comes out in such a form as you would approve, although the prejudices and ignorance of the East may call for some changes or omissions.

With sentiments of high regard,
I am, my dear Sir,
Yours truly,
C. HAMLIN."

A similar version of the Moral Science was also made in the modern Greek language, by the missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Union, and we learn that a translation has appeared in the Nestorian language.

For an adequate explanation of the success of the text-books of Dr. Wayland, we must look not only to the motives by which he was governed, but to the spirit which animated his educational efforts. He kept constantly in view the importance of imparting to his pupils that kind of mental and moral culture which should prepare them to become Christian citizens. He relied on the Scriptures as revealing, with divine infallibility, the highest wisdom.

> "He was a constant student of the Bible, and believed in its sufficiency for all human guidance. How often have we heard him say, as he would hold up his well-worn Greek Testament, 'All that a man need to know is to be found within the covers of this book'! and he never expected anything in which he was engaged to succeed, save as it was in accordance with the principles there unfolded." *

Dr. Wayland published his Elements of Political Economy in 1837. As the author informs his readers in the preface to this work, when "his attention was first directed to the science of political economy, he was struck with the simplicity of its principles, the extent of its generalization, and the readiness with which its facts seemed capable of being brought into natural and methodical arrangement."

He found, however, that "the works on this subject, in general use, while they presented its doctrines truly, yet did not present them in such order as would be most likely to render them serviceable either to the general reader or to the practical merchant." He aimed accordingly "to write a book which anybody who chose might understand." He therefore "labored to express the general principles in

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* Professor Gammell's obituary notice.

the plainest manner possible, and to illustrate them by cases with which every person is familiar." It was not his purpose to prepare a learned and philosophical treatise for the use of a few, but to bring the cardinal doctrines of the science within the easy comprehension of the many. He believed that the great truths of political economy were simply the maxims of common life and every-day experience in private life applied to the regulation of the affairs of communities.

He sincerely regretted that the course of discussion unavoidably led over ground which had frequently been the arena of political controversy, but asserts that in all such cases he had endeavored to state what seemed to him to be the truth, without fear, favor, or affection. He was conscious of no bias towards any party whatever. While cherishing for those of his fellow-citizens who were engaged in political warfare every feeling of personal respect, he entertained for party itself, whether political or ecclesiastical, the opinion which befitted him, "as an American, a Christian, and a gentleman."

He once said, "The great study, at present, of every thoughtful man is the social improvement of the human race." This was, in his view, far more important than the temporary success of any political party or any political measure.

He entertained a high estimate of the educational as well as the material benefits likely to flow from a generous study of political economy. In writing to Rev. Dr. Anderson he expressed the opinion that scarcely anything would be more calculated to arouse and stimulate the minds of persons emerging from barbarism than the study of the elementary principles of this science.

That this text-book was less popular than the Elements of Moral Science, is undoubtedly to be attributed, in a large measure to the cause to which we have just referred — the inevitable discussion of subjects already involved in partisan warfare. Prominent among these was the question of free trade and a protective tariff.

At the same time such were the fairness and candor which were brought to the consideration of every topic, so plain and perspicuous was the style, so simple and logical was the treatment, so familiar and attractive were the illustrations, and so elevated was the moral tone, that it speedily secured, and has ever since maintained, a popularity in our country which no text-book on this important subject by any American author has ever attained. The circulation of the larger treatise has reached the number of fifty thousand copies, and of the abridgment twelve thousand.*

In the spring of 1838, Dr. Wayland published a small volume, entitled "The Limitations of Human Responsibility." He thought that he perceived a strong tendency, more particularly among persons engaged in philanthropic and religious enterprises, to assume and to urge upon others, exaggerated views of the extent of man's responsibility for the ills that afflict his fellows. The result of this excessive estimate was, sometimes to produce a morbid sense of guilt for responsibilities not discharged, and sometimes to lead the persons who were oppressed by it, to feel themselves justified in resorting (if not indeed morally obliged to resort) to extreme and questionable measures, for the promotion of the ends which they sought to compass.

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* "When we remember what multitudes of youths he instructed during the nearly thirty years of his presidency, and how his text-books have been scattered broadcast over the continent, and when we reflect how those principles of which he was so illustrious an expounder have been silently assimilated into the mental and moral structure of the nation, who can compute the number or the energy of those elemental forces of American society into which Dr. Wayland's thoughts and tuitions have been metamorphosed?"—*Rev. Geo. D. Boardman, D. D.*, in his remarks before the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

In the volume referred to, the design of which is sufficiently indicated by its title, he held the view that there are limits to man's responsibility; that he is responsible for results only up to the extent of his power over them; that no man is responsible for evils which he cannot prevent without transcending the means with which Providence has endowed him; and without violating the relations which he holds to his fellows, and the duties which grow out of these relations.

After an exhibition of these principles, which few candid readers could fail to regard as just and timely, the author considered, in the closing chapter, their bearing upon American slavery. The question was not, as he expressly stated, whether slavery was or was not right. It was, what were our responsibilities and duties in regard to slavery.

It is possible that, in his effort to be perfectly just, he unconsciously conceded too much.

Rev. Dr. Cutting writes, —

> "I once took the liberty to say to him that I thought the work open to criticism at this point; that, written to protest against a disposition to crowd men beyond the limit of their duties, he had failed to bring them fully up to that limit. After a moment's thoughtful consideration, he assented to the criticism as perhaps just."

Later events made it obvious either that he mistook the temper of the southern leaders, or else that their spirit and aims had so far changed as to place them in a totally altered aspect to the northern people and to the Constitution.

Dr. Wayland never varied in his view of the essential nature of slavery as an indefensible violation of personal liberty. But there was a change in his view of its practical workings, and of the relation which the northern people sustained towards it. For a long time the existence of slavery was deprecated by southern Christians with apparent sincerity. They said, "We find ourselves encumbered with it, we see its evil, we desire as rapidly as possible to rid ourselves of it, and we beg our northern brethren not to embarrass us in this effort by untimely interference." Eloquent voices at the south urged emancipation, and there seemed good reason to hope that, acting upon the dictates of justice and of a wise public policy, the southern states would follow the example of those northern states that had eradicated the curse from within their borders. A wise, humane man, trusting in the professions of his southern brethren, might very reasonably think it proper to leave the evil undisturbed, to find the natural death towards which it seemed hastening.

When called on, in his Moral Science, to test slavery by the absolute standard of rectitude, he pronounced it at variance with the revealed will of God, disastrous in its effects upon the morals both of master and slave, and condemned by the principles of a sound political economy. And as time advanced, and as the practical character of slavery became more manifest, as the demand was made on its behalf, first for an equality of power in the government, then for predominance, and then for unquestioned and universal supremacy, still more when the slaveholding states, by their own act, freed the United States from all constitutional obligation in the matter, — he felt that his practical duty was largely changed.

"A man," says Macaulay, "who had held exactly the same opinion about the [French] revolution in 1789, in 1794, in 1804, in 1814, and in 1834 would have been either a divinely inspired prophet or an obstinate fool. Mackintosh was neither. He was simply a wise and good man, and the change which passed over his mind was a change which passed over the mind of almost every wise and good man in Europe." We may apply the same just principle to the views which a wise and good man might take of his duties towards slavery, as its aspects varied with the lapse of years.

But it is not needful to go back so far as the days of Mackintosh for illustrations of the principle. The Abraham Lincoln of 1861 was the Abraham Lincoln of 1863; nor did the Emancipation Proclamation condemn the first Inaugural Address.

To his sister: —

"January 31, 1859.

". . . However, on all these questions you seem to me to devolve upon yourself too great a responsibility. Have you read a work on that subject by your much abused but most meek and patient brother? If you have not, you had better do so at once, as it may enlighten you on these points.

"We have a duty to perform where we are responsible; but that being done, our responsibility terminates. That being ended, nothing is to be gained by anxiety or self-reproach. I think you should strive against these things. They wear out your nerves for no purpose; or rather they unfit you for other occupations. I know it is difficult to control ourselves in such cases, but it is a duty."

On the 1st of August, 1838, Dr. Wayland was married to Mrs. H. S. Sage, of Boston. The fact that she yet survives, and a regard for her known wishes, will prevent the biographers from speaking in such terms as would be most gratifying to their feelings, as well as true to their childish memories of the joy which her graceful and loving presence brought to that little household. But they cannot, in justice to the husband whose life she made so happy, refrain from saying that he was ever grateful to the "Giver of every good and perfect gift" for the light which once more illumined his long desolate home, and for the congenial companionship which gladdened the remaining period of his earthly experience.

The year 1839 is memorable in the annals of Brown University. The friends of the college had for a considerable time been of the opinion that the interests of learning demanded additional facilities in important departments of education. Unsuccessful efforts had been made to procure the requisite funds, and the improvements so much desired seemed beyond the reach of the institution. At this critical moment the following letter was received by the treasurer: —

> "In common with a number of the friends of Brown University, I desire the erection of a suitable mansion-house for the president, and likewise of another college edifice for the accommodation of the departments of natural philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, and natural history. As it is highly important that these buildings, so necessary to the welfare of the institution, should be erected without delay, I hereby tender to the acceptance of the corporation two lots of land as a site for the president's house, and the lot of land called the Hopkins estate, on George Street, as a site for the college edifice; and I hereby pledge myself for the sum of ten thousand dollars, viz., seven thousand dollars for the president's house, and three thousand dollars towards the erection of the college edifice, the suitable improvements of the adjacent grounds, and the increase of the permanent means of instruction in the departments of chemistry, mineralogy, &c., provided an equal amount be subscribed by the friends of the university before the first of May next.
>
> "I am, with affectionate regards and great personal respect for all the friends and patrons of the university,
>
> Respectfully,
>
> NICHOLAS BROWN."

The response to this generous offer was prompt and satisfactory. Within the indicated time a sum amounting to more than twenty thousand dollars was subscribed, and the success of this most important movement was secured. A suitable building devoted to the pursuit of the natural sciences was speedily erected. In the summer of 1840 Dr. Wayland removed to what has since been known as the "President's House."

CHAPTER XVIII.

HIS HOME. — HIS SOCIAL LIFE. — CONVERSATIONAL POWERS. — VARIED INFORMATION. — KINDNESS OF HEART. — PARTISAN VIOLENCE DEPRECATED. — WEST POINT. — POLITICAL FORECAST. — PUBLIC HOLIDAYS. — FAMILY AFFLICTION. — CONSCIENTIOUS EXPENDITURE. — LETTERS TO THE YOUNG. — MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. WAYLAND was now in the full maturity of his powers. His acknowledged eminence as an educator, the popularity of his text-books, his successful labors as " a Christian philosopher, displaying more love for the truth than for mere symbols and creeds, more love for the world than for his country, and more devotion to the church than to any sect," and his reputation as a wise counsellor in all matters affecting the temporal or spiritual interests of his fellow-men, had placed him in the front rank of American citizens. In the city of Providence, and in the State of Rhode Island, his name, associated with every public enterprise, whether designed to extend the benefits of education, or to relieve the sufferings of the poor, or to increase the facilities for religious instruction, had become familiar as a household word. Meanwhile, although there had been no diminution in the number or importance of his daily duties, yet he had made himself so completely master of the studies which he was called upon to teach, and, with the efficient aid of a Faculty of instruction in full sympathy with his views, and sharing his professional enthusiasm, had brought the college into a condition of such correct discipline, that he had probably more leisure at his command than at any previous or subsequent period.

Enjoying these welcome results of many well-spent years, once more happy in his home life, and provided by the liberality of the friends of the university with a residence worthy of the office which he held, he could indulge, in a manner most congenial to his tastes, his love of social intercourse. Those who knew Dr. Wayland only in his official relations, or as a casual acquaintance, saw but one phase of his character. It was reserved for those who were admitted to his closer companionship to learn, that beneath that grave and thoughtful exterior there lay concealed a fund of humor, an inexhaustible store of interesting and entertaining anecdote, and an extent and variety of useful information, which made his conversation as delightful as it was instructive. He had been a careful student of human nature, and his estimate and analysis of character were original and striking. He abounded in quaint expressions, usually embodying some general principle in such apt, idiomatic language as not to be easily forgotten. For the singular shrewdness of observation, and sharp insight into the motives of human conduct, embalmed in so many popular maxims peculiar to our Yankee dialect, he had an especial fondness, and often used these homely proverbs of the people with great effect. We should be glad to give some examples of these features of his conversation; but deprived of the aroma of the occasion which called them forth, and wanting the expression of countenance which characterized his mirthful moods, they would lose their chief attraction, and convey but too feebly the lively interest which they imparted to his unstudied utterances.

It resulted from the simplicity of his character that he never talked for effect. He shrank with instinctive modesty from anything like a display of learning. He was as willing to receive as to communicate information. His natural kindness of heart and his love of knowledge made it impossible for him to fall into the habit — common with good talkers — of social despotism. He delighted to gain important and interesting facts from those whose occupations were far removed from the natural direction of his own studies, and he had singular skill in selecting subjects with which they were familiar. "He held dialogues with common men, farmers and mechanics, by the way, wherever he met them, with as much ease and good understanding as if he had been of every man's guild and society all his life." *

Writing to his son, then a boy, he says, —

> "Neglect no opportunities of gaining useful information while visiting ——. Mr. D. is a great teacher in the art of fishing, the management of a boat, &c. These are worth learning thoroughly, and I advise you to acquire all the knowledge you can respecting them. The art of becoming familiar with a practical matter is of inestimable importance."

A distinguished officer in the United States navy, after spending some hours with Dr. Wayland, remarked to a friend, —

> "I called on the doctor, expecting to be greatly improved by an interview with a man of his reputed learning; but he made me do all the talking. He squeezed me like a sponge."

The writer remembers that Dr. Wayland once directed his attention to the following extract from the "Fortunes of Nigel," as containing much practical wisdom: —

> "Experience and knowledge of the world soon teach every sensible and acute person the important lesson, that information and increase of knowledge are to be derived from the conversation of every individual with whom he is thrown into a natural train of communication.
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> "For ourselves, we can assure the reader, — and per-

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* Rev. Dr. Bartol's Discourse.

haps, if we have ever been able to afford him amusement, it is owing in a great degree to this cause, — that we never found ourselves in company with the stupidest of all companions in a post-chaise, or with the most arrant cumber-corner that ever occupied a place in a mail-coach, without finding that, in the course of our conversation with him, we had some ideas suggested to us, either grave or gay, or some information communicated in the course of the journey, which we should have regretted not to have learned, and which we should be sorry to have immediately forgotten."

One of the president's pupils says, — *

"On one occasion, after having spent several weeks in the most intimate daily intercourse with an accomplished naval officer, I called to see Dr. Wayland. Thinking to surprise him with my knowledge of what belonged to naval science, I contrived to introduce this subject, and discoursed upon it at some length, and, as I flattered myself, with some learning I soon discovered, however, that he knew vastly more about it than I did; and I retired in confusion, carrying with me two books which he had recommended me to read — Collingwood's Despatches, and Letters to his Daughter."

We are indebted to the same gentleman for the following reminiscence: —

"In the early part of the recent rebellion, one of my friends, who had been for a few years captain of a first-class merchant vessel, was anxious to secure some appointment from the naval department, in which his seamanship might be of service to his country. I introduced him to Dr. Wayland, thinking that a recommendation from such a source would materially assist my friend in his patriotic purpose, and then, after some words of explanation, retired, leaving them in earnest conversation. When I next saw this aspirant for naval promotion, he said, 'What sort of a man is Dr. Wayland? I supposed he was only a clergyman; but I never passed so severe and searching an examination about everything that be-

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* E. H. Hazard, Esq., of Providence, R. I.

longs to my profession as a sailor. He seems to know everything about a ship.' "

It was significant of the practical tendency of his mind that he was careful to surround himself with the best maps and atlases which could be procured. His accurate knowledge of the geography, not only of the United States, but of foreign countries, was often a matter of surprise to those who were most familiar with his habits of study. When he first heard of the commencement of the Crimean war, he was able to predict, with singular correctness, what would be the important strategical points to be occupied by the allied armies. He was very fond of studying, even to the minutest details, the military operations of modern history. Profoundly impressed with the genius of Napoleon, he had followed him through all his campaigns with the deepest interest, and, aided by such maps and diagrams as served to assist him in these investigations, had acquired a knowledge of the career of the great emperor possessed by few men not professionally interested in the art of war. He was hardly less familiar with the campaigns of Wellington, Sir William Napier, Frederick the Great, and the Duke of Marlborough.

He read English history with never-failing delight. When a Sophomore in Union College, he devoted all the leisure hours of the long vacation to a most careful and critical reading of Hume's History, taking copious notes of whatever he thought worthy of future reference. In after life he frequently referred to the benefit which he had derived from the studies of those weeks, both in laying a foundation for future historical researches, and in cultivating and confirming the habit of serious reflection. Nor did he confine himself to those sources of information which commonly supply all the knowledge needed by the casual student of history. In connection with those eventful epochs in the annals of our mother country, when great constitutional principles were settled, deciding not only the destinies of the British empire, but most materially influencing the condition of the whole human race, he read the biographies of the master spirits through whose agency these all-important results were accomplished. He made himself familiar with the history of the leading families in England. Perhaps no secular book in his library was more frequently consulted than "Burke's Peerage." One who knew him well writes, "When any question relating to ancient lineage was the subject of conversation, he was able at once to supply any broken, or rather forgotten link in the pedigree, and assign to each the proper place in English history." At the same time, we presume it is hardly necessary to observe that there was nothing aristocratic in the temper of his mind or in the direction of his tastes. Indeed, his prime favorite was Cromwell. He had made the character and career, military, administrative, and diplomatic, of the Protector, an especial study. As one of his friends has said, "Long before Carlyle's famous work on Cromwell came out, Dr. Wayland knew all about it."

His kindness of heart was nowhere more conspicuous than in his social intercourse. He could be witty, and was often ironical. But his wit never gave offence, and his irony was always good-natured. He could not bear to wound the feelings of others. It was a matter of conscience as well as of inclination with him to be charitable in his judgments. Though severe in his condemnation of social evils and public wrongs, he was slow to censure the motives of individuals. His anecdotes or observations about the absent were never in an unfriendly spirit. To hear another spoken of harshly gave him pain. When he detected any tendency to fault-finding, he would say, with a pleasant smile, "Let us talk of things rather than of persons," and turn the conversation into another channel. He once wrote to a young friend, —

"Cultivate kindness of feeling. When we become faultless ourselves, we may learn, if we please, to speak harshly of the infirmities of others."

To the same:—

"He who is displeased with everybody and everything, gives the best evidence that his own temper is defective, and that he is a bad associate."

To one who proposed to criticise with some severity a recently published book of travels,—

"I do not think of Mr. ——'s book as you do. It is well enough, and does not call for any castigation. It is gossiping and very good-natured. If you cannot speak kindly of it, you had better let it alone."

He had an especial dislike for controversy conducted in a spirit of recrimination and unfriendly criticism. He once said, "My instinct teaches me always to avoid a quarrel." Where he differed in opinion from another, he was content to state briefly and clearly the grounds of his own belief, and his objections to the principles of his opponent. While he felt that he owed so much as this to the cause of truth, he had no desire to press a discussion beyond the bounds of courtesy and good feeling. His letters to Dr. Fuller furnish an excellent illustration of this feature of his character.

Cherishing an ardent love for his country, proud of her free institutions, and intensely republican in all his feelings, he was profoundly grieved by the tone of acrimony and vindictive bitterness so common in our political discussions, and ever sought — both by personal appeal and in his correspondence — to assuage the virulence of partisan warfare.

Writing to a friend connected with the press, he says,—

"I hope you will adhere to your resolution to leave the war of mere party politics, and devote more time and space to European affairs and general questions of statesmanship. These will transcend in interest and importance all petty, local issues. Lead in this, and you will be the leader in all."

During the fierce excitement in New York on the question of slavery, culminating in the "abolition riots" of 1834, he wrote to one of his intimate friends — a prominent editor in that city, who had been especially earnest in advocating the aims and objects of the Colonization Society, and had vehemently denounced the abolitionists, —

"Your duty at the present time must be very trying. Let me urge upon you a word of advice.

"1. Decide in your own mind what your precise situation and responsibility are. You are not responsible for what you cannot help. You cannot prevent the proceedings of the general government. Your most important office is to state the facts as they exist. You are not under obligation to excite the people. We have excitement enough, and the very appearance of it renders men suspicious of the truth of facts. This is the case at present. The press has been so generally devoted to party, that now the truth is not believed, and has lost its power. If you talk of Caligula and Nero, you will not be believed. The facts are stronger without the comparison.

"2. Strive to keep your feelings from being embittered. Unless you do this, you will be miserable. Do your duty, and leave the result with God. You can be happy in no other way.

"3. I pray you, do not call 'the people' by hard names. Do not say they are 'fools,' and 'knaves,' and 'idiots.' If you speak of men in this way, who will believe you? We are all fellow-citizens. Let us treat each other as such. Who are you and I but the people? We should not like to be called idiots by those a little higher than ourselves.

"4. Abandon partisan and personal feeling. If one who has hitherto differed from you now agrees with you, do not chide him for his change of opinion and want of consistency, for the sake of showing that you have always been right. Rather rejoice that he is at last convinced. Welcome him as a fellow-laborer, and commend his candor. We should not labor for party, but for truth.

"5. Seek to be a peace-maker. The country is very much agitated. The passions of men are aroused, and they have not the fear of God before their eyes. The day of our retribution seems at hand. There will be great pecuniary pressure, much distress, and perhaps division. Let us strive to allay party violence and to calm the passions of men."

A little later he writes again to the same, —

"I think you mistake your position. Because you are the conductor of a public journal, you greatly err if you suppose the community care a rush about your private quarrels. Indeed, why need you get into a quarrel? You are not called upon to be a gladiator, or a Don Quixote, to run about the city attacking every one who speaks against the Colonization Society. Yours is a public journal, for the statement of facts, and for general discussion; and its design is perverted when you make it the medium for the display of your private feelings and your personal grievances.

"Besides, you are a disciple of Christ. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another. But you may say, If I am attacked I must defend myself. I have not so learned Christ. When he was reviled, he reviled not again. Paul said, 'I will spend and be spent for you, though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved.' We must learn meekness, and patience, and forbearance in the school of Christ.

"If you continue in this course, I fear that you will lose all comfort in prayer, and all evidence of religion — that you will sink into gloom, and perhaps go back into the world. I know that the Spirit of God will not shed abroad his love in the bosom of one who is so ready for contention. He is a peaceful Spirit, and resides only with those who bear even injuries with meekness and in silence.

"You will perhaps reply, My situation is peculiar, and these rules do not apply to it. Is it so? If it be a situation to which the rules of Christ do not apply, then a Christian cannot hold it. You must either give up Christ or the situation. But in all this there is a sad mistake. There is too strong a desire for the glorification of self. Leave self out of the question, and the difficulty will be greatly diminished. . . . In a word, unless you love the cause of Christ better than the Colonization Society, you will have only such comfort as the Colonization Society can give you.

"I beg you to forgive my plainness of speech. I love you, and desire to see you a happy, peaceful Christian. For this reason I have written. May God grant you his grace and wisdom."

To the same, in reference to the preceding letter: —

". . . I wrote from my own experience, and this may not correspond with that of others; but I have found that if I allow myself to be much interested in worldly matters, my enjoyment of religion is gone, and my consciousness of the presence of God departs. This is peculiarly the case when my feelings are awakened to anything like controversy. It was my earnest desire for your growth in grace that led me to write as I did. I am feebly and most imperfectly attempting to live more religiously than heretofore, and I felt deeply anything which I thought might be injurious to your soul. Pardon any improper warmth or harshness of expression, and if any part of my advice was good, try and make use of it."

In the summer of 1837, Dr. Wayland was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors for the annual examination at West Point.

From this place he writes as follows to Colonel Stone: —

"June 8, 1837.

". . . The members of the Board of Visitors are mostly strangers to me, and I believe there are not many with whom you are acquainted. Yet the scenery is as beautiful as ever, and Cozzen's hotel is, as usual, attractive to *bons vivants*. I have a room with one of the professors while I am engaged in the study of the art of war. I have not yet received a military appointment; but, as I learn that I am getting into favor with the Jackson Van Buren patriots, there is no knowing what may happen. In case I should receive anything valuable, I shall, of course, remember you. Of the news of the day I know nothing. Should anything important from Europe transpire, I wish you would be good enough to send me a paper. The ordinary party intelligence I do not care about. I forwarded to you some sermons recently, but presume that you have not yet had time to read them. They are intended to moderate the violence of party feeling. I am sure that this will please you.

"However, the fashion of this world passeth away; all these vehement desires, and loves, and hatreds will very soon be silent in death. Let us look forward to something better and more valuable than this world can give, and let us seek to quiet the peevish restlessness of the present existence by drinking at the fountain of eternal life."

That Dr. Wayland was not indifferent to the political questions which, from time to time, agitated the country, and that his political predictions, carefully considered and temperately expressed, were confirmed by future events, will appear from the following letter to a friend, written immediately after the presidential election of 1852: —

"I had intended to write to you before the election, and give you my opinion, but could not command the time. I am not surprised at the election of Mr. Pierce, but I am surprised at the greatness of his majority. I gave the Whig leaders more credit for forethought and common sense than they deserved. They surrendered principle, and tried availability. They have lost election, principle, honor, and all. I consider that there is now no Whig party. They have no principles to which they adhere, and profess none of any power in opposition to the Democrats. They cannot make another stand. The next move will be a division of the Democrats; and this will again give an opportunity for choice. I think you may safely look upon the Whig party as defunct. You will have, therefore, an opportunity to leave all parties, or to select from those that will hereafter be formed which one you will join. For my own part, I prefer to be of no party. If I were in your place, I should deliberate long before making a choice. When Jefferson was elected, Hamilton advised the Federalists to disband, and unite with the best part of the Democrats. They did not follow his advice, but died by inches, until the very name became a word of reproach."

To the same, November, 1854: —

"You will learn, before long, that politicians are generally among the stupidest and most mole-sighted of men. It must be so, for they are preëminently selfish. Because, like the mole, they burrow under ground, they suppose that, of course, they go right; which is no more true of under-ground than of over-ground movements. You may remember my regret that certain prominent politicians, instead of seizing upon the great principles which were agitating the community, were determined to keep up the Whig party, or, in other words, to cling to an organization of which the only advantage was, that it benefited a few leaders, and kept the rest at work for them. The result has been the same in both parties. The chains are broken, and in New York the administration candidate is nowhere. You are very fortunate in being out of the whole affair. You will now, I trust, imitate the example of the man, somewhere in the northern part of New York, who succeeded very well by minding his own business."

Dr. Wayland's political sympathies were always with that party which, for the time being, sought to elevate humanity, and to promote the cause of equal rights.

He was, however, too wise to bind himself to follow the dictates of any party organization. To quote his own words, —

"I do not wish to be connected with politics. Indeed, I dare not commit myself with politicians. No one knows what they will be next year by what they are this year."

He could never give to party "what was meant for mankind."

"He was of the people; every drop of his blood was in fellowship with the mass of mankind. He was democratic to the core — in his manners, habits, and thoughts. He never talked *down* to the community, or to any audience. He knew nothing of better blood, but only of the *one* blood. By his instincts he hated, as by his vows he opposed, all tyranny and caste. He was an advocate of freedom and free trade. It was this wide communion with humanity which moved him to open collegiate degrees, not only to the learned professions, but also to the useful arts." *

Dr. Wayland's views about society were characterized by the utmost simplicity. Few things gave him greater pleasure than the informal intercourse of congenial companions; but late hours, costly entertainments, or any form of social dissipation, had no attraction for him. To this day many of his surviving friends are fond of recalling the pleasant memories of evenings spent in his society. They delight to dwell upon the evident gratification with which he welcomed them to his home, the unaffected interest which he exhibited in everything that concerned their welfare, his playfulness of manner, the contagion of his hearty laugh, his shrewd but kindly comments on men and manners, and the spirit of Christian courtesy which pervaded and sanctified these memorable interviews.

At this period of his life, somewhat relieved, as we have seen, from the engrossing occupations of former years, he seemed to recognize not only the advantage to himself of occasional relaxation, but our national need of regularly recurring holidays.

He writes to his friend, Rev. Dr. Hoby, of Birmingham, England, —

"December 25, 1837.

"My dear Brother: When I last wrote to you, I thought it not improbable that at this time I should be joining in the rejoicings which, from time immemorial, have gladdened the homes of England on this festive occasion. I have, by the by, a great love for these national, universal merry-makings. They tend to abate the ferocity of party strife. They blend together the different classes of society. They attach children to their parents and to each other. They bind together the various collateral branches of kindred. They allow every one to throw off the load of care which more or less presses upon every bosom; and the

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* Discourse of Rev. Dr. Bartol.

man goes forth with a somewhat lighter heart to meet the exigencies of his peculiar calling. Such I suppose to be the effect of these days with you. We in this country pay too little attention to them. We toil, and fight, and talk politics, and make money, to the end of the chapter. I should very much like to spend Christmas holidays in Old England."

His fondness for family meetings seemed to increase with his advancing years. As, one by one, the playmates of his boyhood passed into the "silent world," he clung more closely to those of his relatives who survived.

He writes to his sister, September, 1837, —

"I am very thankful that we were permitted to meet together so pleasantly this summer. Such little family gatherings are good and lovely while they last; they are delightful in retrospect; and the results which they leave on the spirits are most cheering and refreshing. They brighten the chain of affection, and rivet its links the closer. We understand one another better, and sympathize with far greater freshness in each other's joys and sorrows. Surely whatever has this effect is among the best as well as pleasantest medicines to the soul."

With his serious estimate of life, and testing all questions involving the expenditnre of money by the severe standard of conscientious duty, he habitually practised self-denial as to all social indulgences, which did not take the form of healthful relaxation, or furnish the means of mental quickening. In this spirit he writes to a friend, August 13, 1840, —

"Mr. Audubon is here, and I have screwed my ornithological courage up to the sticking-point of one hundred dollars. I had great misgivings as to the matter of duty. One hundred dollars is a considerable talent, and I doubted whether I had a right thus to appropriate it. However, I made out a view of the case that satisfied me. It seemed to me that so complete and beautiful an exhibition of this portion of the works of God ought to be procured, and on this ground I thought I was justified in purchasing the work. I am much pleased with Audubon's moral temper.

He seems habitually to refer what he sees to the wisdom and goodness of God. I think he would hardly agree with the notion of our friend B., that creation is no proof of the being of a Creator. Talking to him of animals, I said, 'The buffalo is certainly very stupid.' 'Stupid!' said he; 'man is the only stupid animal I ever saw.' It is delightful to see such enthusiasm in any profession. Would that we could imitate him in our own pursuits."

We cannot remember another instance in which Dr. Wayland made a costly addition to his library not called for in the prosecution of his chosen studies. His was emphatically a working library. Perhaps a score of volumes would cover all it contained in the departments of fiction and light literature. In addition to books religious and devotional, comprising a large proportion of the whole, there was a considerable collection of standard biographies, works on English and American history, books of travel, scientific treatises, dictionaries, and works of reference. Nothing was for show, all for use. The library correctly indicated the man and the bias of his mind. It should be added that the books which bore the marks of most frequent perusal were his Greek Testament, Baxter's Saints' Rest, Wilson's Sacra Privata, and Leighton's Commentaries.

The interest which Dr. Wayland never ceased to manifest in the mental and moral development of his young acquaintances, his unwearied efforts to give a right direction to their expanding intellects, and his anxious concern for their spiritual welfare, are deserving of especial mention.

To a lad at school, the son of one of his dearest friends, he writes, —

"You ask me about self-government. It is a very proper question. I wish I had more time to write about it. I will, however, say a few words in reply. You must have observed that when a man or boy is about to perform any action involving character, there are two sorts of impulses operating upon him, one urging one way and the other another way. Suppose a boy saw some apples in a neighbor's field. Appetite would say, 'They are good; help yourself.' Conscience would say, 'No; it is wrong.' Suppose you had an opportunity to get an advantage over a comrade by a mean trick. Selfishness would say, 'Do it; look out for yourself.' Conscience and nobleness of soul would say, 'Be above doing a mean thing for any advantage.' Suppose you were tempted to play truant in violation of the rules of your teacher; the love of pleasure would say, 'Go; no one will know it.' Conscience would say, 'I would not do wrong, although nobody knew it.' Self-government consists in accustoming ourselves to obey these higher and nobler impulses of our soul, rather than these lower and meaner impulses of our body. This is the nature of the thing. How to do it, I will tell you when I write again. . . ."

To the same: —

"In my last letter I wrote to you about self-government, and what it was. It consists in subjecting our conduct to some rule, and accustoming ourselves to obey a higher, rather than a lower propensity. For instance, idleness is a low and mean propensity; industry is respectable and honorable. We exercise self-government when we act industriously, in opposition to the strongest impulses of sloth. To illustrate: If you were tempted to lie in bed when you ought to be up, it would be an act of self-government to start out of bed, although the cold was as biting as Jack Frost could make it. So in the case of learning a lesson, or of any other duty. So, if you were tantalized by another boy, passion would urge you to scold, or quarrel, or fight, or return evil for evil. It would be an act of self-government to restrain your anger, and keep perfectly mild and good-natured.

"But you naturally ask, 'How shall I acquire this desirable habit?' I do not know that I can tell you; but I will do the best I can. In the first place, then, you must be thoroughly in earnest about it, and really desire to succeed. You know it is of no use to give a man medicine unless he is willing to take it. If you are then seriously desirous of acquiring a habit of self-government, you must resolve, in general, that you will always act from conscience and reason; and, in particular, resolve against any actual errors into which you may have fallen. It is important to guard against passion on the one hand, and against procrastination on the other. When you are in danger of yielding to laziness, resist it on the instant. When your passions begin to be excited, either calm them immediately, or go away from temptation. In all cases you must strive to do right.

"But, in the next place, if you have done wrong, always go and confess it. This is one of the best ways to gain self-government. A boy will soon break off from wrong if he will form the habit of apologizing for every wrong action. No matter whom you have injured, young or old, I would always apologize when I had erred.

"And lastly, we must seek divine assistance. In the morning, ask yourself, 'Wherein am I likely to fail?' and pray God to keep you from failing. In the evening, recall your wrong doing; be penitent, and resolve to do so no more. Do you not think that if any boy would act thus, he would learn self-government? Well, then, try it, and see how it answers for yourself."

To the same: —

". . . You wish me to tell you something about character. Character is from χαϱάσσω — which means, I scratch, or make marks, as an engraver does. It is what is perfectly wrought into a man. A man's character is his principles, his habits, his nature. Reputation is, as you say, from *reputo*, and means what our fellow-men think of us. The first is by far the most important. Suppose you were going to make marks upon a piece of wax; would you do it when it was soft, or when it had become hard? How could you seal a letter with hard, cold wax? You will say, of course, we must do it when it is soft and yielding. What should we think of a man who would not put his seal on the wax when it was soft, but determined to wait until it was cold? You would call him a stupid person. Now, apply this opinion to ourselves. When should we be more careful to form character — when we are young, or when we are old? Tell me what you think of this when you write again."

To the same: —

"Let me urge upon you ever to set before yourself the highest standard of character, and aim to reach it. Be not satisfied with the notion that you are as good as this or that boy, but say to yourself, 'I will try to emulate the character of the greatest and the best of men.' This will give you something to strive for. It will, moreover, make you humble, and this very striving will tend to make you good and great. Had Washington desired to be nothing more than those around him, he would have lived and died a plain Virginia farmer. Begin, then, at once. Resolve that you will do everything well. Spare no pains or effort, and by thus aiming at excellence you will develop and improve whatever is good in your character, while you will diminish whatever is bad.

"Now, in order to accomplish this, you need to exercise self-government. This is only to be gained by practice. For instance, your appetite frequently enslaves you. Begin at the table. Select that article of food of which you are most fond, and abstain from it for a week. You will be surprised to observe how much power of self-control this will give you. You are indisposed to mathematics. Take half an hour, or whatever time is necessary, every day, and study mathematics, hard or easy, and select the hard in preference. Never leave a proposition, whether it requires a longer or shorter time, until you have mastered it. You will thus gain confidence in yourself. An army that is always beaten can be beaten without effort; while one that has acquired the habit of victory is invincible. Thus is it with mind. If we acquire the habit of success by resolute effort, we can rely with confidence on our ability. You remember what Virgil says — '*Possunt*, *quia posse videntur*.'"

To the same: —

"It is of great consequence to our moral life to spend our Sabbaths well. I hope you have begun aright. I would have a fixed plan for the day; a time for rising, for reading, meditation, self-examination, and prayer, as well as for public worship. I would never allow myself to read secular books, or to do any secular business whatever. I would be, so far as possible, alone. No one can estimate the value of a well-spent Sabbath as a means of moral culture. It arrests the course of worldliness, brings us near to God and to ourselves, and strengthens us in all good resolutions. . . .

"You ask me about Miller's doctrines. I have not read anything he has written. It can make but little difference to you or me when the end of the world comes, if we are prepared for it. Death, which is the end of the world to us, may come, as we know, at any moment. To be in readiness for this event is all that need concern us.

". . . I do not know precisely the difference between biography and memoir. It may be correct to say that biography is simply a life of the person. A cat or a dog may have a biography. Memoir combines with the life, important transactions in which the subject took a part. You would feel that a memoir of a cat would be ludicrous. This I suppose to be about the distinction."

To a young relative on his birthday: —

". . . Another year upon earth! How solemn the thought! I suppose, throughout the universe, there is not a world in which time is so inestimably valuable. Ours is a world in which God became incarnate to save us from the most awful destruction, and to raise us to a glory like his own; in which he offers to every one of us this infinite mercy; in which his Spirit is everywhere present, urging us to accept of his freely-offered pardon, — and all this limited to the few and uncertain moments of this present life. We lie down to sleep. We may awake glorified spirits, or souls lost forever. We commence a sentence; before it is ended we may have completed our probation. And yet God waits. His compassion is boundless, even while we are rejecting his infinite mercy. He gives us days, weeks, months, and years in which to secure our eternal salvation.

"You are commencing another year. Shall it be like the one just closed? What have all your labors amounted to in comparison with securing the salvation of your soul? Will you spend the year before you in pursuing objects which, considered in the light of eternal truth, are all vanity? Do not rely upon doing certain things, in the hope that a change will come over you gradually. Has this plan succeeded up to the present time? If not, what reason is there to suppose that it ever will? Agree with thine adversary quickly. Now is the accepted time. The blessed Savior waits. O, let him not wait in vain.

"Do not think this advice obtrusive. With my sincere interest in your temporal and eternal welfare, I could not suffer this opportunity to pass without seeking to impress upon your mind these important truths."

To a young friend about to travel in Europe: —

". . . As I shall not probably see you before you go abroad, I shall try to think of a few of the things which I wish to say before you leave. I shall begin and go on at random, stopping when recollection, or time, or paper is exhausted.

"Take care, in the first place, of your soul. The fact is, whether you think of it or not, that the issue of this whole concern is in the hands of God. He will give you all the success you enjoy, and inflict every chastisement you suffer. He will introduce you to every acquaintance, prepare the way for every expedition, and be the Author of whatever improvement you make from every occurrence. He will shield you, if you are shielded, from every temptation, and cause you to grow, if you do grow, in virtue where most men fail. He therefore should be your daily confidant; look to him not only when you are in trying emergencies, but before you enter upon them; and as you never know when this will happen, look to him habitually. Strive ever to maintain a devout spirit; take time for it, and be resolute about it; and if you find yourself growing thoughtless, take a day for this alone, putting aside every other business, and make it your sole concern to recall your thoughts and get your heart right.

"Make up your mind on the moral questions which will probably come before you, and on the courses of conduct likely to be matters of moral trial. Hold firmly to your resolutions, whatever may oppose. For instance, you believe in the Sabbath; you will go where it is a day of pleasure. Keep it as you believe it ought to be kept, though you are alone and lose ever so much by keeping it. God will abundantly reward you, and you may be sure that nothing you may gain will be sufficient to compensate you for displeasing him.

"In observing, beware of a rustic or puerile curiosity to see the shows or lions. You cannot see everything. Select, therefore, what is most worthy your attention, and, though it may cost most money and most labor, be willing to undergo labor and pains to do your work well. Therefore be careful to cultivate, as far as possible, physical hardihood. This will give you better health, a higher zest in seeing, and will increase your total amount of conscious existence.

"Claim no precedence, but take just the place that is given to you, and make no fuss about it. Louis XIV. wished to ascertain whether the Earl of Stair was, as he was reputed to be, the most polite gentleman in Europe. He therefore invited him to ride in his carriage, and when they came to it, the king asked him to get in first. The earl bowed most respectfully, and obeyed. The king said that any other man would have stood bowing, and scraping, and refusing to enter for a quarter of an hour.

"Every country has its peculiarities, and its disagreeable ones; we Yankees have our share, as the world reports. I would observe particularly those which English writers remark respecting us, and be careful to avoid them; not at all because I am ashamed of my nation; but the best manners are of no country; they are the manners which belong to all well-bred men; they are the manners collected from what is good in every country, with what is peculiar thrown away.

"Have your objects as much as possible marked out before you, or else you will be looking for a needle in a haystack. Do not attempt everything; but find out what is most desirable, and do that well. Get facts, and be sure that they are facts, not guesses, blunders, and mistakes. Certain knowledge alone is worth having, for it is the only knowledge that in a year any one will care a fig about remembering.

"Write down names, dates, and everything that you want to remember. Never trust to your memory; always treacherous, it will, in travelling, be doubly so. *Quod scriptum manet.*

"September 18.

"I had filled the preceding sheet before your letter arrived. I am glad that you are going in such spirits, and that you have so agreeable company. All, thus far, seems well. You feel like a young man, feeding your hopes on your imagination, and rejoicing in happiness which you will never realize, and expecting bliss from sources which will tire, rather than satisfy you. But still go on. Keep yourself as cool as you can, and try to be useful, or at least to prepare yourself for being so. I should like to be with you, and almost wish I was going; but it is now too late.

To the same: —

" Some time has elapsed since I received your letter; and where to imagine you at present, I know not. I trust, however, that wherever you are, you gain knowledge, improve in adroitness of mind by intercourse with the world, see more of its vanity and littleness, and thus, by becoming better acquainted with it, become better prepared to leave it.

" Before I proceed to things in general, I will answer your letter. You ask me if a copy of Hall's works, handsomely bound, is what I would buy, were I there. I reply, no — not for myself. My circumstances do not allow of literary luxury. But it is not so with you. You have the opportunity and the means of laying the foundation of a good library. Whatever you can afford to expend, you had better expend in this manner. Get good and handsome books, so as to furnish a small room for your personal and private reading. By doing this you will give a tinge to the whole character of your life, and at least once a day you will be reminded that there is something valuable in the world besides invoices, notes of hand, orders, and balance-sheets. Get all the British classics in suitable style — Milton, Cowper, Johnson, Goldsmith, Shakspeare, Burke, Scott, &c. Buy books in your own calling — on political economy, statistics, money, exchange, &c., and every thing you can find concerning the manufactures with which you are connected. Also get Hume, and whatever illustrates English or American history.

" . . . I trust you are improving your time. Not that I doubt your seeing enough, which you will do, of course, from the very principles of your nature. But this is not all. See to remember, and judge, and generalize. This will render you a well-informed man, and give richness, scope, and precision to the operations of your mind. And do not forget to look at everything with the eyes of a Christian. I feel a very deep interest in all your pursuits, and hope to see you greatly benefited by this period of absence."

To a young friend about to travel in this country: —

"... I want you to remember all you see at the south and west, and be able to give me an account of it. Observe carefully the modes of thinking, and especially the points which are taken for granted. The things men take for granted without affirming are frequently of much greater importance than all that they affirm.

"By all means, see what you can of the west. As, in all probability, I shall never be able to go there, I must look at it through the eyes of others. I want the elements of sound opinions. Note down your observations and the incidents which happen to you."

To a young friend intrusted with important business interests: —

"... It is at some risk that so much confidence is reposed in a young man. But this only furnishes the stronger reason why you should deserve this confidence. Remember one thing. Never make up your mind *instanter*. People will seek to commit you, and will then feel sure that they have carried their point. Always say, 'I will think of it, and let you know;' and then make up your mind out of their sight, and out of hearing of their persuasive eloquence. If possible, resolve upon no important matter without a night's sleep. If you will only take time, you will make as few mistakes as other men. The difference between young and old men is this: young men are ashamed to be thought obliged to take time for deliberation, and old men are willing to be so esteemed. Consent to be an old man, and you may have an old man's wisdom."

For the sake of preserving the continuity of the narrative, we have hitherto inserted only such letters of Dr. Wayland, written between the commencement of his presidency and the year 1840, as had especial reference to the particular topics under consideration. The following letters, although introduced without special regard to chronological order, are deemed worthy of publication, as affording additional insight into his character and opinions. Upon hearing that his father had suffered pecuniary reverses, he writes to his sister, January 1, 1828, —

"The change which has taken place in father's circumstances, rendering you the poorer, has many sources of consoling, as well as of afflictive reflection. It is afflictive that it should have been occasioned by human rather than directly by providential agency. It is afflictive that the loss is associated with impropriety of moral conduct, and that the money has tended to make mankind worse, rather than better, by its expenditure.

"On the other hand, it is consoling to reflect that whatever was wrong, was not by our or by our parent's design.

"So much for the loss of the money. What effect has it produced upon you? It has made you poorer. But has it diminished your intellect? Has it taken away your education? Has it deprived you of any rational or moral means of happiness? Has it made you less estimable in the sight of God? Certainly not, unless it has caused you to murmur, and charge God foolishly. If it has made you humble, grateful, child-like, penitent, and faithful, God esteems you infinitely more. This loss, therefore, cannot be a matter of much importance.

"But it may be necessary for you to earn your own support. Well, what is there humiliating in this? What is there more humiliating in earning our own support than in having some one else earn it for us? Into these two classes all mankind must be divided. Other things being equal, — that is, moral character remaining the same, — I consider the class of supporters more respectable than the class of supported. It is to the former that I always expect to belong.

"It is impossible to decide at present whether this change is for the better or for the worse; whether it is an affliction or a mercy. It surely will be the latter, if we improve it aright. All that you or any one can understand, is, that God has seen fit to turn you into a different path from that in which you were walking. Whether it will lead to a more or less pleasant prospect than that which you leave, he only knows. Our sole business is to follow him, and seek, first of all, to obey him. He knows what will conduce to our best interests. It all proves that there is nothing certain or valuable but religion. God has promised this to all who seek for it. He has promised nothing else. He has secured that, and that alone, to us. It is the only treasure which we can make our own."

To Mrs. O'Brien, December 21, 1829:—

"My dear Sister: Your last letter was duly received; and few things of an epistolary nature could have given me more pleasure. In Mrs. R. I have always felt a deep interest, which was increased by the tidings of her recent affliction, although I knew not how it had affected her. To hear of the supports of divine grace which she has received, to know how good God has been to her in the hour of her calamity, to be assured that in this furnace of affliction she was even joyful, is refreshing beyond the ordinary incidents of this changeful life. Mrs. R. is, in my opinion, no common Christian. She certainly wields the weapon of prayer with more skill in the Christian warfare than almost any one whom I have ever known. It seems never to fail her. I was peculiarly struck with this in the last visit I made to her. I have not often seen any one breathing so elevated and invigorating, and yet so bland, an atmosphere of piety. It is delightful to see how God prepares his servants for the service to which he calls them, and how he takes them by the hand before he leads them through the fiery furnace."

To his sister:—

"November 13, 1832.

"... What sad havoc has death made in the ranks of the leading minds of England during the past year. The names of Sir James Mackintosh, Robert Hall, and Sir Walter Scott will at once occur to you among the list of those whom the world has lost. How wide was the intellectual empire, how powerful the sway, how undisputed the literary eminence, of the great novelist! In these respects we shall hardly find his equal in the history of modern times; and yet how mean are the fictions of this gifted mind, compared with the contemplations of the devout saint upon God, and the communion of the soul with the Savior of sinners. Let us remember that this is not our home, and live daily in preparation for heaven.

"You have undoubtedly heard of the death of Dr. Spurzheim, the celebrated phrenologist and physiologist. He was a man of rare endowments, vast information, singular acuteness, intimate knowledge of the world, uncommon candor, persevering industry, searching observation, and truly philosophical spirit. His death will be widely felt and sincerely mourned both in this country and in Europe. I saw him in Boston, and heard him lecture with much pleasure."

To a friend: —

"October 23, 1833.

"I rejoice to hear of your improved health. . . . Let me entreat you to pursue the course which I recommended to you when we were last together. Put your feelings into action, and you will recognize their importance. Engage in works of benevolence and usefulness. Especially would I once more suggest to you the benefit to be derived from the charge of a Bible class. Consider how delightful would be the task of training young minds for heaven! Meanwhile, you had better commence housekeeping, and have some command of your time. Spend as many hours as possible in retirement. You will enjoy it, and it will do you good."

To his father: —

"January 10, 1834.

". . . I entirely agree with you as to the treatise of Mr. Gurney. I have never seen the great doctrines of the gospel presented in a manner so simple and scriptural. The book is written, as you are probably aware, by a Quaker; and yet I presume that Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, would unite with him in every sentiment which it contains. This results from the fact that he confines himself closely to scriptural statements. One thing, at least, is thus made manifest — that Christians differ from each other, not so much respecting what the Bible teaches, as about their own glosses and deductions from it. How much wiser, happier, and more united should we all be, if we were willing to be simple-hearted disciples of the Holy Oracles! I sincerely hope that such a union is advancing. I think I observe, that, in the character of the religious literature which is getting into circulation, we find more unction, a stronger leaning towards experimental religion and 'heart-work,' than has been seen heretofore.

"In my last letter to S., I alluded to Mrs. Fry's recent work — 'Christ our example.' It is written in an admirable spirit, and should be widely circulated. I hope you will read it carefully, and get several copies to lend where such a book is needed. It is adapted to the wants of all Christians."

On the death of his early friend, Rev. Dr. Wisner, he writes to the bereaved widow, —

"PROVIDENCE, February 10, 1835.

"My dear Friend: I have just heard the melancholy tidings. I fear to break in upon the depth of your sorrow by writing, and yet I can do nothing else until I have mingled my grief with yours. But what shall I say? and how shall I comfort you? I know in part what the world, and the church, and the missionary cause have lost, but what you have lost, no one but yourself can appreciate.

"'Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Savior.' 'I was dumb. I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it.' 'As for our God, his way is perfect.' These and similar passages of Scripture are in my mind continually, and I know that with such consolations you are staying yourself in this hour of your awful visitation.

"I feel as though I had lost a brother. You know how long we were associated together, and how, almost from boyhood, we were united. I do not think that there is any one left on earth, out of my own family, with whom so much of my life has been spent. We sat on the same seat in college, we were tutors at the same time, and for five years we labored together in Boston. All now comes up before me — his frankness, his generosity, his steadfast and unchanging piety, his soundness of judgment, his sagacity in counsel, his faithfulness in advice.

"But why do I speak of my feelings? When I think of you, my heart bleeds. I have gone through such a scene, and I know something of its sorrows. I can at this moment sympathize with you in your bereavement;

and day after day, as though I were with you, I shall bear your grief, and go with it to the throne of grace. I trust you have the presence of Christ. I am sure he will not leave you at such a time. I pray that he may abundantly comfort you, and lead you to rest upon him.

"Can I do anything for you? Can I in any manner alleviate the bitter distress with which you are overwhelmed? I beg you to consider my house as one of your many homes. May the blessed God be with and sustain you. Yours affectionately,

F. WAYLAND.

"Save me a pen, or whatever you can spare without robbing yourself."

A few months later, he lost, in the death of Thomas P. Ives, Esq., of Providence, one of his wisest counsellors, a life-long friend of the college, and a most useful and valued citizen. In reference to this sad event, Dr. Wayland writes to his sister, May 14, 1835, —

". . . I came home, as you are already aware, to a scene of deep affliction and most sad and affecting bereavement. I left Mr. Ives in health: his was the last house at which I called. It was the first which I visited on my return, and I found him in the chamber of death, after a sickness of scarcely seven days. I did not know that he had been ill until I was informed of his death. There is reason to hope that his end was peace. He was always, from my first coming here, my steadfast, sincere, kind, and sympathizing friend; a prudent counsellor, a most upright merchant, a man of unerring sagacity, of instinctive benevolence, and great natural and cultivated courtesy. I have rarely known a man whom I esteemed more, or whom every one considered so thoroughly worthy of esteem. The loss to the college and to me is, so far as man can see, irreparable."

November 20, 1837, he writes to a friend who had suffered serious losses in business, —

"Your last letter has given me great pain. I sincerely regret that you should be thus involved, and can hardly imagine how it has happened. I presume that your pecuniary difficulties must have been caused by some speculation. What my views on this subject are you already know. Still, what has been done cannot be recalled. All that remains is to act wisely under existing circumstances.

"The condition in which you find yourself is one which sorely tries the character of men. How many, when thus tried, utterly fail! You can now lose either property alone, or both property and character. See to it that you lose only the former. Look at your affairs calmly, with the advice of judicious friends. Ascertain at once what property you have, and make every sacrifice to pay your debts. If possible, discharge every obligation to the uttermost, and give up everything to accomplish this result. I would glory in being poor for the sake of being strictly just. This is called for by correct principles of conduct, and is still more strongly demanded by your Christian profession. You have now a better opportunity to demonstrate the value of religious principle than you may ever have again. Resolve to pursue such a course as I have ventured to indicate, and you will at once feel a peace of mind which nothing else can give. Let me urge you to act as promptly as is practicable, for suspense in such a case is always peculiarly painful.

"You are abundantly able to make yourself independent by your own exertions, and therefore need not be concerned about the future. Be not discouraged. Be just, and fear not. Cast all your care upon God, who careth for you, and he will deliver you in due time."

To the wife of this friend, Dr. Wayland writes, —

"The simple loss of property, when one is able to earn his own support, is very bearable. You do not, I am confident, feel apprehensive of coming to want. You may, indeed, be compelled to live less expensively. But this will diminish your domestic cares, and may result in your living quite as comfortably and much more pleasantly. You will need fewer servants, and will be subject to fewer interruptions. Do not fear a disclosure of the change in your circumstances. See to it that you act right, and you will gain the respect and love of all the good; for the opinion of the rest you do not care.

"In such cases there are some duties especially devolving upon a wife, of which I beg leave to remind you. Never say, 'I told you so.' Seek to be cheerful, and to look at things precisely as they are. Show by your conduct that you are not concerned about the loss of property. Endeavor, at once, to reduce your expenses to the lowest point. Do for yourself what others have hitherto done for you. Practise entire plainness in dress. If I am not mistaken, you have a large investment in jewels. Pardon me if I suggest that it may be your duty to dispose of them. Under existing circumstances, would it not be a reproach to you to wear them?

"Encourage your husband to sacrifice everything rather than abandon a single point of high Christian integrity. Let it be seen that, although he may have made an error in judgment, he is still determined to pursue a strictly honorable course. No matter how unjustly he may have been treated by others, he is now called upon to act for himself. Others may have involved him in purse; let them not also involve him in reputation. I am particularly desirous that you should both show the elevation of character which becomes you as Christians.

"I know you will not for a moment doubt that I sincerely sympathize with you in your present distress, or that the advice which I have given has been dictated by affection. I do not see that you have anything to reproach yourself with. You could not have prevented what has occurred, and therefore you are in no manner responsible for the result. This being the case, do not 'borrow trouble.' Endeavor to act like a Christian woman and a Christian wife. Save all you can, and be willing that all should see that you are saving. Uphold your husband in doing right. Do not pine or repine; but 'bear up, and steer right onward.' I pray God to support and comfort you. Try to leave all with him. We see at present but in part, but we shall see fully in the end. You do not know how rich this cloud may prove to be in blessing."

A call to the Federal Street Church, in Boston, which he received in the fall of 1838, was the occasion of the following letters to Deacon Heman Lincoln: —

"PROVIDENCE, November, 1838.

"My dear Brother: . . . Your letter of this morning is just received. It is, of course, a serious matter, demanding grave and prayerful reflection. It does not appear to be my duty, but it deserves examination. Were I to be settled in a city, I should prefer Federal Street Church to any church I know of. I love the ministry; and were the choice an open one, I rather think I should decide for it. But I will not prejudge the matter, or even write about it. Ask the direction of God in my behalf."

A week later he writes, —

"Yours of yesterday was received in the evening. The case you present shows that the door is fairly opened to go to Federal Street. It, however, does not show that it is open for me to leave the college. These are two different questions. The one by no means includes the other. I am prepared to hear all that can be said in the case, but, as yet, see no reason to think that it will be my duty to leave.

"While I write thus, I beg you to be assured that I feel a deep sense of gratitude for this instance of the confidence of my brethren. I shall cherish a peculiar interest in them, and a strong desire to serve them. If I do not go, I will labor with the utmost zeal to procure a pastor for them, and shall not rest until it is accomplished."

The following letter to Rev. Dr. Bartol contains an allusion to the same subject: —

"November 15, 1838.

"My dear Brother: I cannot resist the impulse to answer immediately your kind and excellent letter of yesterday, which has been this moment received. I thank you for your clear and distinct views, and for the candor with which they are expressed. I am peculiarly gratified, inasmuch as they entirely coincide with my own.

"As the case was a grave one, and I felt that I might misjudge in my own calling, I was sincerely desirous to know how the matter was looked upon by unprejudiced observers who saw it from a distance, and would take in its whole bearings perhaps better than I. The fact is, I am partial to the ministry; it is specially good for a man's soul, and I never intended to abandon it for life when I commenced teaching. But God has given me so much greater success in teaching than in preaching; my labors have seemed so much more effectual; the number of those who succeed in teaching appears so much less than in preaching; my health is so much better; and, so far as I see, the present situation is so clearly preferable for H., both in climate and duties, — that I should not feel authorized to leave unless there were a manifest intimation of Providence. . . ."

To Rev. Dr. Hoby: —

"December 25, 1838.

"That you did not see more of Dr. Potter, I regret as much as you. He was one of my earliest friends, and we have been intimate since the commencement of our acquaintance. I scarcely know a more excellent, amiable, or able man. His time abroad was limited, as he was obliged to be at home in September. I presume he remained in Birmingham as long as he could. I would most gladly have been with him, and do not yet quite give up all hope of following him. I yearn to visit the graves of my ancestors; the tombs of the mighty dead, of whom I have read from childhood; the homes of England, both of high and low degree; to look upon that land where civilization has reached a higher point than any other country has ever attained; and to see the eminent men who are doing honor to our language and to our nature."

To Rev. Dr. Bartol: —

"January 3, 1839.

". . . I have read the article on Cromwell in the Westminster Review. It has many fine passages, and is written by a strong man. As Robert Hall said of Owen, though he dives deep, he sometimes comes up muddy. In his endeavor to be far-reaching and profound, he is sometimes, if not frequently, obscure. He has a better knowledge of the character of Cromwell than any one whom I have read. I should have liked the article better if it had been more historical and less philosophical. Still I rejoice to see it. There have been very few men with whom Cromwell could be compared. As was said about Napoleon, we must search centuries for his parallel. The world has seen few such men, and to few has it been more flagrantly unjust. Literature owes Cromwell much, for she has robbed him sorely. I rejoice to see one instalment of the debt paid. As to the death of Charles I., I consider it rather an irregular proceeding, but it was really with

Cromwell very much a matter of necessity. If he had not killed the king, the king would have killed him; and it would be difficult to prove that the king had a better right to the throne than he. . . ."

To a clergyman: —

"January 12, 1839.

". . . I am pleased to learn that my services seem likely to be useful. I like the work of the ministry, and sometimes doubt whether I ought to have left it. I have no time now to write sermons, or I should preach oftener. I am not quite sure that you are correct in the notion that a man can write sermons to better purpose when out of the ministry. Dr. Stillman once said that the oftener an oven was heated, the easier it was to heat it. I used to find that I wrote more readily, and I think more effectively, the more I wrote. Fox was in the habit of speaking every night when he first entered Parliament. It is perfectly amazing to perceive the amount of speaking done by men who accustom themselves to it in Parliament and in the courts of law in England. Erskine's speeches make two thick octavo volumes, closely printed; and yet it is stated, in the preface to the English edition, that they comprise the labors of only *three weeks* out of a life of *thirty years'* service at the bar. What an inexhaustible volcano such a mind must be. The same must be true of other men, especially of almost any of the chancellors of Great Britain. Indeed, I rather suppose that the human mind does not improve so much, in advancing life, in power to do great things, as in the power to do the same things with less labor. I doubt whether Canning could speak better at fifty than at thirty; but he could speak as well on the instant at the former age, as by a week's preparation in the latter. Hence I conclude that the oftener a man preaches, the easier and the better he will preach."

To his sister, December 22, 1839: —

". . . You ask me about the state of the soul after death and before the resurrection. The Scriptures are almost silent on the subject, and on such topics, where they teach but little, we cannot know much. What they have taught us seems to me substantially as follows: The human being may exist as body and spirit united; as spirit disconnected from the body; and as spirit united to what the apostle calls a glorified or spiritual body. The first is our state here. The last will be our state after the second resurrection, as I suppose St. Paul teaches in the 15th chapter 1st Corinthians, and in the Epistle to the Thessalonians. The second, I have thought, will be our state after death and before the resurrection. It will, I suppose, be a state of inconceivable joy to the righteous, and of sorrow to the wicked, but still inferior to the final state of both. Our Savior, as I have always believed, passed through all that we are to pass through. He lived as we live; was a man of like passions as we are. He died as we die. He existed, as to his human soul, separate from his body; and on the third day he was clothed in a glorified or spiritual body, being thus the first fruits of them that sleep. Such are my views, briefly and without argument. Where I derived them, except from the Scriptures, or who believes as I do, I do not know."

To the same, February 16, 1840: —

"Your inquiries respecting self-examination are not so unusual as you might suppose; nor do they betray a state of mind to which a religious friend should show no quarter. They (that is, your representations of your own feelings) indicate a state of mind in which the knowledge of duty is superior to the performance; the conscience, aware of the discrepancy, occasionally stimulating the performance, so that the two do not lose sight of each other, yet not quickening the soul to such habitual action as shall keep them near to each other. If such be a true exposition of the case, the result to be feared is, that the knowledge of duty and the performance may gradually lose sight of each other altogether. The thing to be desired is, to bring them into more immediate communion, and establish between them the relation of steadfast cause and effect.

"Now, if we inquire into the cause of this state of mind, I think we shall find it to be this: We do not allow our moral faculties a fair opportunity. The soul of man is a stage, on which is carried forward a daily contest between the powers of the present world and the powers of the world to come. The soul herself holds the balance between them. As she yields to the powers of the world, they gain strength and the others decline; as she governs the passions and strives after holiness, the reverse takes place. In such a state of mind as you describe, the balance is not evenly held. We must give more scope to spiritual things. To be more specific, we shall generally find, upon looking into the matter, that reading, study, business, or something else, has crowded out religion, and that we do not allow ourselves sufficient time for prayer and reflection. We must then turn over a new leaf, and permit the duties of religion to resume the ground they have unrighteously lost. By portioning out your day, and adhering to the resolution, you will find where the difficulty is, and also the remedy. Time devoted to calm reflection will recall us to ourselves. A season of special humiliation is frequently useful; but this will only be of temporary advantage if our daily arrangements are not so made as to give their due share to religion and to God. But perhaps as good a way of knowing our hearts as any other is, to do our duty. Goethe says, as I am told, 'Do your duty if you would know what is in you.'

"You speak of a tendency to deify abstract holiness, instead of being practically holy. This must be so if our hearts are by nature deceitful. We are very prone to do anything rather than our duty. But this tendency we must strive against, knowing that it is a part of 'the body of sin and death.' . . .

"That you cannot by searching find out God is not remarkable, it having been observed as long ago as the time of Job. Nor is it wrong, so far as I can see, for you to love the image of God reflected in nature. He has said, 'Because they regard not the works of the Lord, nor consider the operations of his hand, he will destroy them.'

". . . As to the personal reign of Christ, I have no knowledge. I have never found anything to warrant belief in it. I see no reason to suppose that Messiah will come to this earth until he comes to judgment, and then the world and the things of it will be burned up. I believe, however, that his gospel will triumph, and this earth be wholly subject unto him.

". . . Free toleration in religion is attended by (I do not say causes) bad enough preaching; but I have not discovered that the absence of toleration has been attended by better.

" . . . If the Head of the church had no more patience with preachers than they deserve, I am sure that their condition would be a sad one. My sympathies are, I must confess, with the people rather than with the clergy. There are not very many who do as well as they can. Old Dr. Ryland, a very irascible man, once heard a miserable choir sing. He stopped them in anger, saying, 'If the angels in heaven should hear you, they would wring your little necks off.' How much better would some ministers fare?"

END OF VOL. I.

Book B